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THE
SPANISH
PILGRIME:

OR,
AN ADMIRABLE DISCOVERY
of a ROMISH CATHOLICK.

Shewing how necessary and important it is, for the
Protestant Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Eu-
rope; to make warre vpon the King of Spaines
owne Countrey: Also where, and by what meanes, his
Dominions may be inuaded and easily ruinated;
as the English heretofore going into Spaine, did
*constraine the Kings of Castile to demand peace
in all humility, and what great losse it hath
beene, and still is to all Christendome,
for defaults of putting the same
in execution.*

Wherein hee makes apparant by good and euident reasons, in-
fallible arguments, most true and certaine Histories, and notable ex-
amples, the right way, and true meanes to resist the violence of
the Spanish King, to breake the course of his designs,
to beate downe his pride, and to ruinate
his puissance.

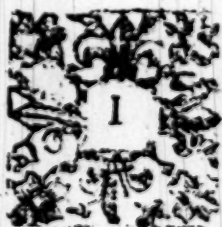
L O N D O N

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of the Horse-shooc, 1625.



THE EPISTLE OF THE
French Translator, to all the Protestant
Kings, Princes, and Potentates in the
Christian World.

Most excellent Princes,



I was my self to contract amity with cer-
taine Gentlemen of Arragon, and other
Spaniards (not Castilians, for to them I
wot not how to carry any affection, which
should exceede the prescript rule of the Go-
spell) of whom I understood many things
touching matters of State, which were to me strange and
unknowne: by reason that there were amongst them some
personages exceedingly well learned, and most conuersant
and expert in all Histories, and notably well scene and pra-
ctised in the affaires of the world. There was one above the
rest in their company, a man of great spirit, iudgement, and
experience who had scene a great part of Europe, and (ha-
ving beene for a long time in Portugall) had dealt and con-
uersed with the Portugals, whose Language he spake natu-
rally, and had read all the Histories of that Realme, and was
so well acquainted with all their affaires, and knew them all

The Epistle of the French Translator.

so particularly, that I did greatly wonder at it. For, in things that were to come, I found him in manner of a Prophet: in so much that for the vivacity and quicknesse of his spirit, and the long experience which hee hath had, he seemeth to me to haue as great knowledge in things to come, as if he saw them present before his eyes. He made prooffe vnto me by many reasons (which did not onely plainly conuince my opinion, but did as it were bind me hand and foote) that these voyages, and others of like kinde, would neuer draw with them any other profit, nor serue to any other purpose, then to waken the sleeping dogge, and to re-enforce the common enemy. Now considering that Don Philip King of Castile hath a Councell, the most choise and excellent, (such as neuer Prince in this world had a better, his seruitors most loyall and faithfull, great forces, and abundance of treasure, vpon the which all other things doe depend: and yet notwithstanding all this, hee doth not leaue daily to cause diuers Bookes to be imprinted in his fauour and defence, I doe therefore desire to haue drawne from this learned and worthy person something written with his owne hand, which I might present vnto your Maiesties: and to this end did I diuers times make request vnto him, but I could neuer get him to yeeld or condescend thereunto. wherefore be thinking with my selfe, that as pouerty, griefe, and melancholie, doth bury, and (as it were) kill the spirits of a man, so the commodities of this life, contentment and cheerefulness, doth reuine and quicken them, I determined because I saw him sad, pensive, and melancholicke, by reason of his exile and misfortunes out of his owne Countrey, to procure his pleasure and contentment, knowing that by this meanes

of the French Translator.

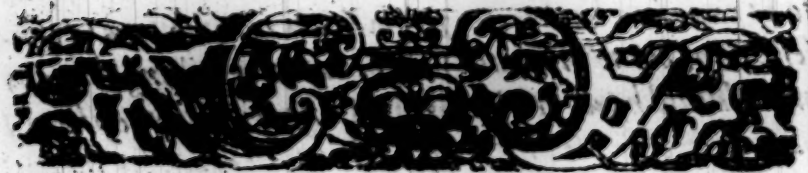
I might obtaine the accomplishment of my desire, I did therefore set open my gates and my House unto him, I presented him with my Purse, and made him partner of my Coyne; I cherished and entertained him for many dayes, and (for loue of him, some other of his company. And by this courtesie I made him so behauiing to me, that afterwards hauing many times held dispute and conference together, I caused him in the end to take his Pen in hand. Thereupon did he compose in the Castillian Tongue, this Discourse, which he entituled Trattado paranatiico: and he presented it vnto me. The which when I had read, a most strange admiration or astonishment did rauish me: for that I neuer saw (I will not say in so little a Volume) but not euen in great Bookes, so many curiosities reported, so many and diuers Histories, things so secret and particular, admonishments so necessary to be embraced, nor counsels so iust to be followed. And knowing perfectly the excellency of this worke, and how greatly important it would be to be seene of your Maiesties, and by the Kings, Princes, Potentates, and Common-weales of Europe. And albeis I know my stile to be rude and barbarous, yet such was my ambition (I confesse mine owne infirmity) that I was not willing that any other should haue the pleasure in doing it. In some places I haue augmented it: holding it so to be needfull, for the better and more cleere understanding of the History. Touching the originall, I thought it reason not to abridge or cut off any part thereof. I most humbly beseech, in regard of your most Christian Maiesties, to receiue it with that good affection, which Princes oweth to their Subiects: who for his seruice, will not esteeme to hazard the losse of all that hee possesseth: much lesse to make himselfe incapable for the
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The Epistle of the French Translatore

obtaining of that which of right is due unto him, and who
for the good and honour of his Countrey, will spend his life
most freely and willingly. God preserve and bleſſe the most
Christian persons of your Maiesties, with so great abun-
dance of spirituall graces, and assist you and make you to
prosper with so many riches of temporall blessings, as is
possible to his diuine Maiestie. Amen.

The most faithfull Subiect of the most Christian King
of France, and loyall Seruant to the most wise
and excellent King of England,

I. D. Dralymont.



The



The Publisher to the Reader.



Friendly Reader, thou hast in this little Pamphlet an incomparable treasure, a rich store-house and magazin full of precious speeches, true Histories, rare examples, liuely reasons, and wholsome counsels: the which if their Maiesties, and the Kings, Princes, Potentates, and Common-weales of Christendome would embrace, follow, and put in execution, without doubt they should soone obtaine and find a medicine for so many mischiefes, a remedy for so great and continuall afflictions and intollerable trauels, wherewith their Subiects haue for so many yeeres wraстled and contended. And I dare assure them, that by obseruing the aduise here giuen them, they shall preserue their Estates in time to come from all danger: for euen as the great fishes doe persecute and deuoure the small and little ones; so in like manner those neighbours which are most mighty and puissant, doe despoile and consume the others who are of lesse puissance. Now we know that there are two especiall reasons for which the Authour hath prolonged and drawne out at length this his Discourse, enriching it with Histories so singular, and beautifying it with such rare authorities and examples. The former is: for that, as he hath endeouored liuely to depaint vnto vs our enemy, and to make vs know the naturall disposition of those Nations, of whom we haue great cause to take good heed; seeing that all that which he hath spoken, doth set forward this his intent and purpose, he saw it would not be any incontinence, to vse therein some prolixity. If a man by compact, as

The Publisher to the Reader.

bound thereto by another, or of his owne proper motion and free will, and vpon curiosity, would vndertake a voyage of some three or foure leagues, not hauing any time prefixed nor limited for dispatch thereof, what harme would it be vnto him, if in his passage he doe find some Gardens where he may recreate and refresh himselfe, from the trauell and wearisomenesse of the way? So doe you my Masters reade this Treatise at your pleasure, vse it for your recreation, and take your delight in the sweete odours of her flowres and pleasant posies. You neede make no great hast, there is no man that doth vrge you thereto. A second reason of the proximity of this Treatise, is, for that as the Author is driuen of necessity to handle the vertues and the vices of diuers persons and sundry Nations: so his will was, that each of them should haue his due desert: the good and those that haue done well, praise and honour; but the euill and vitious, blame and reprehension. In the end of this Treatise you shall find the explication which he promiseth, Fol. 143; in the which there are many things both of great curiosity, and also as necessary to the matter in hand as any of the rest. For that in knowledge, vnderstanding, and experience, hee doth farre exceed me, as his worke doth shew apparantly. Touching the which briefly, I dare not affirme any thing, but this, that each word of his is a sentence, and that each sentence containeth many. I mull confesse, that to some persons in particular, his Treatise will be ill accepted: but what remedy? he hath spoken but the truth, and what he affirmeth he proueth, and hee alledgeth nothing without his Authour to iustifie it. And truly I for my part am of this opinion: that it is not against reason, to publish the wickednesse and vices of some one particular person, which being true, may be made knowne to euery man, especially when the knowledge thereof may redound to the great good and benefit of the weale publike. But to come to an end, let me entreat you to take in good part that which I haue said.

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THE SPANISH PILGRIME,

OR

A ROMISH CATHOLICKES
DISCOVERIE,

By way of exhortation.

Wherein is shewed by good and euident reasons, infallible arguments, most true and certain histories and notable examples, the right way and true meanes to resist the violence of the Castilian King, to breake the course of his desires, to abate his pride, and to ruinate his puissance.



Oft excellent *Princes*, they which doe make profession of wrastring or of fencing, doe principally studie how to discouer the trickes and deuises vsed by their aduersaries in these kindes of exercises; for that hauing once marked and taken notice of the same, they doe enter into the lists, and present themselues in place, and doe combat with so much the more hardinesse and assurance, as hauing conceiued thereby a full and assured hope to ouercome their enemies, and by giuing them the foyle, to gaine the prize propounded for the victory. In like manner ought we in all affaires diligently to search out the originall of euery thing, that we may foresee and preuent all the

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The reasons
that moued
Philip King of
Castile to stir
vp warres in
France, what
opinion he
hath of the
French nation

inconueniences which may grow therein, to the intent, they may not endamage vs in the time to come afterwards. Now that which we in this Treatise ought most curiously to put in practise, is to know and discouer the reasons which haue moued *Philip* King of *Castile* to make warre in France, with so great expence and charge of his treasure, with so great losse of his people, and with so great decrease and diminution of his dominions, especially in the Low Countries. If the most Christian King *Henrie* the third were liuing, he could say as much as a certaine stranger his seruant comming from Spaine, in the yeare 1583. in the moneth of May, did giue him to vnderstand: and that was, that the sayd King *Philip* seeing how his most Christian Maiestie had permitted *Monsieur de Shosse*, the Countie du *Brissar*, and other Lords and Gentlemen, to goe with an army by Sea to giue aide and succour to *Don Anthony* the true & rightfull King of the Realmes of Portugall, who had bene elected King according to the custome of the Portugals, by all the cities and townes of the sayd Realme, and by many Prouinces and Signories out of Europe, being dependants of the same Realme and Kingdome. The said *Philip* did deliberate in a solemne set Councell to stirre vp and procure a ciuill warre in France: saying, the French nation is at this day of such a nature, and likewise the English, that they neuer thinke vpon the time to come, nor care for any thing, but for the present, and that which they haue in hand, as being more desirous to gaine day by day three or foure Crownes then to keep three or foure thousand already gotten: so farre are they changed from their old and naturall disposition. For in former times they had a desire to goe abroad out of their owne Countrey for the succouring of Kings and Princes afflicted & despoyled of their Realmes and Dominions: and to make warre vpon the Infidels, and to chastise tyrants, whereas now their thoughts are quite & cleane altered, and they doe set their minds altogether to the getting of money vpon any conditions whatsoever, and they

they are now growne to be no lesse in loue with the lasciuiousnesse, and delights of their owne country, then they are in dislike with the sterility and extreame heat of Spaine, & other discommodities of this countrey: and for this cause we shall the more easily perswade and induce them to make warre within their owne countries, euen against their own brethren, cousins, parents, and countrimen, rather then a-broade against their enemies. And for this cause I will and am resolued to spend one million of gold the more yearely, to the intent I may keepe and entertaine them alwayes in domesticall and ciuill warres. So that being held occupied, and hauing their hands full in their owne countrey, they shall not be able to resolue to passe into the Realmes and dominions of any other. And so by meanes hereof shall I be able easily to preferue the Realme of Portugall to my selfe with all that doth depend vpon it. And whatsoeuer it shall cost me the keeping, yet the profit will be greater then the expence, for that each yeare I doe leauy thereof neare three millions of gold, and continuing in the possession of the same. It may be that in time I shall be able to gaine the affections and good wils of the Portugals, howbeit that I know they be now at this day very contrary against me. But hereafter, if I get them once to be my friends, and hauing with them their strong ships, gallions, and other vessels of warre, besides the good counsell and conduct of all their sage and experienced mariners, I shall make my selfe sole and absolute Lord of all the Ocean Sea, and I shall cause my selfe to be redoubted and obeyed throughout the whole world, and so wil I retaine & keepe in my hands this realm, which of all the kingdoms of Spain is of most importance, to the intent I may leaue it sure & peaceable to my successors. This is the sum of the speech which *Philip* had, and of the conclusions which he tooke with his counsell in the city of Tison in Nouember 1582. after the arriuall thither of the Marquesse *de Santa Cruce*, at such time as he returned victorious from the Island of *S. Michaele*. In the same

The league of
France made
in imitation
of that in the
yeare 1463.
Stephen Gari-
bay.lib. 17.
cap. 10. 11 12.

Councell was by him also laid the first and principall stone, whereupon the late League of France was founded. And therewith it was first by him ordained, concluded and baptized, in imitation of that which was so named, and made by the rebels in Castile against King *Henrie* the fourth, and which afterwards was againe reuiued in fauour of *Isabell* and *Ferdinand* his great grand parents. This great designe and resolution of his was faithfully reported vnto the said King (as hath beene said) by this stranger his seruant with many particularities: and amongst others, that the Castilian had sent into France nine sundry men, of purpose to corrupt with mony and faire promises, the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of France, of whom many were particularly named, who from thence forward held the party of *Philip*, and many which were ready to doe the like, as the euent did afterwards make manifest. And the said *Philip* to gaine likewise the Captaine *Landreau*, had once resolved to send into France the Captaine *Anthony*, a Portugall, who being married at *Rochel*, was at that time prisoner in the Castle of *Lisbone*; and for this effect had granted him his life, with offer of his good fauour by the meanes and procurement of the *Alcade Tayade*, who did oftentimes repaire to the castle of purpose to see and visit him, and had conference with him for a long time together. Notwithstanding *Philip* fearing least he should discouer the practise, caused him afterwards to be hanged, notwithstanding the promise hee had made him. This Captaine *Anthony* discouered the whole matter vnto a certaine personage in whom he had great trust and affiance, and requested him to keepe it very secret, till such time as he should be gotten into France, to aduertise the most Christian king thereof, and the king of Portugall: vnto whom the said Captaine *Anthony* had praised him to communicate it, as he did. And as touching the Captaine *Landreau*, he was enforced to take part with the Castilian, and to accept the mony that was offered him for the safetic of his owne life: whereof also he aduertised the king

Alcade is the
grand Prouost
of the kings
house.

king of Portugall, who was then at Beauvais on the Sea-
and hauing giuen him to vnderstand to what intent he had
done it; he prayed him to looke to the safeguard of his per-
son, for that he was in exceeding great danger. The which
the said Prince *Don Anthonso* did within few dayes after
proue to be most true, and had beene taken, if he had not sa-
ued himselfe with great speed, as there was then taken one
of his sonnes, with many gentlemen Portugals of his traine,
by the people of the Duke de *Mercaur*: who did ran sacke
and make spoile of all that did appertaine both to him and
his traine, of whom some held themselues happy, that they
could get away in safetie. Of these nine men (of whom I
haue spoken) certaine were apprehended, who discovered
the whole intention of the enemy. Notwithstanding as
little and small reckoning was made thereof at that time, as
there is now at this day of any thing, be it held neuer so ne-
cessary and needfull to free vs from vetter ruine and destru-
ction. Moreouer, the same stranger (of whom wee haue
made mention) did at the same time of his comming, ad-
vertise the most Christian king, that it was reported
throughout all Spaine, among all persons of any good sort
and qualitie, that his Catholike Maiestie had resolved to
enter into league, and to confederate himselfe (Sir) with
your Maiestie, and to make you great proffers, to your ex-
ceeding great benefit and aduantage, so that you would
make warre vpon the sayd late king your predecessor. Be-
sides, it was reported, that he promised to giue vnto your
Maiestie a pension of two hundreth thousand crownes a
yeare. Howbeit, some say, that this was onely to be for an
earnest and assurance of his promises: and they doe affirme
this for most certaine; that the two hundreth thousand
crownes were all in a readinesse within a castle named *Ox-*
agani appertaining to the Lord of Luxes not farre from
Rouneual. And it was further reported at the same time,
that the said *Philip*, to be the better assured of the amitie
of your Maiestie, did demaund to haue in mariage the La-

Philip by vn-
lawfull trea-
ties laboreth
to stir vp war
against the
French king

The practise
of a good Ca-
tholike.

die your sister, with this condition, that the children which should be borne of this mariage (were they sonnes or daughters) should be inheritors to the realme of Nauarre: and that hee would giue vnto your Maiestie in recompence the Isles of *Sardinia & Maiorque and Minorque*, and would moreouer bind himselfe to establisth your Maiestie, at his owne proper costs and charges, king of Guyene: and that he did also desire to giue you in mariage, the Ladie *Isabel Clare Eugenia*, the infant of Spaine his eldest daughter, together with the Duchy of Mylan: promising to that effect, to get a dispensation from the Pope, and all such declarations, as should be needfull thereunto. Your Maiestie should know these things here alledged better then any other: and whether the report which ran thereof at that time (when he did hold treatie with you) were true or no. Surely this was a great tentation: but the loue, which your Maiestie bare to your countrey, and the obligation of loyalty which you ought vnto your king, had more force and interest in you, then all the promises of an ambitious Tyrant. The bruite which ran thereof throughout all France, and also the certaine report of the ill entertainment giuen by your Maiestie to a gentleman, who had the managing of this businelle, and had made an ouerture thereof vnto you, did gaine you the affections of all good Frenchmen: who did thereupon imprint you in their hearts, and much more, when it was knowne, that your Maiestie had aduertised the most Christian king of the same, in the year 1583. Infomuch that his Maiefty did permit you the yeare following 1584. to make an assembly of the chiefe Heads and Lords of the religion at Mountaban: where it was well knowne, that your Maiefty did sharply reprove those which had plotted these troublesome practises, and others which were seene afterwards to bee set abroad by the enemy, in the year 1585. And that your Maiestie did then make an accord reciprocally, neither to enterprife, nor to deliberate vpon any thing, the one against the other.

And

And it was reported, that all the pretended reformed Churches in this assembly, did require your Maiestie for their Chiefe; and secondly, *Monsieur* the Prince of Conde: and that all this was done by the permission of the said most Christian King, who did greatly repent himselfe, that hee had let passe the oportunitie, to giue aid and succours to the late King of Portugall, for the recouerie of his Realme, as himselfe declared to that stranger aboue mentioned, being at Bloys, in the yeere 1589. At which time he complained of the tyrannie and irreligion of *Philip*, and sent him into England, there to entreat vpon his affaires with the Queene and the King of Portugall: vnto whom hee promised, that the first thing which he would doe, after he had recovered Paris, should be, to send an armie into Portugall, and to make warre vpon the enemy within his owne countrey, and to constraîne him to demand peace, as the English with the aid of the Portugals had at other times constrained his predecessors to doe the like. And in case, that the said King of Portugal, did and should vndertake the Voyage, as it was giuen him to vnderstand that he was so resoluèd, he prayed him, that so soone as he should be arriued thither, he would aduertise him thereof; to the intent, that immediately vpon his comming into Portugall, or any other part of Spaine, if he had but two thousand men, yet hee would send them away with all speed, because he knew full well, and was most assured, that if the enemy were once entangled in Spaine, and kept busied at home, hee should soone be rid of him in France, as the euent did make it manifest. For as soone as the newes came, that the King of Portugall was at Lisbon, the most Christian King, for the accomplishing of his promise, commanded the late *Monsieur*, the Marshall de *Biron*, that he should put himselfe in a readinesse to passe into Portugall with as great speed and diligence as was possible, for to succour the Portugals, and to giue aide to their rightfull King *Don Anthonio*, to reestablish him in his Kingdome.

The desire
that the French
K. Henry the
third had, to
restore Portu-
gall to her li-
bertie.

But God, which with a iust and equall ballance doth weigh
and

and examine all things, did display his wondrous workes; where and when it pleased him.

Portugall the
gate of the
war in France.

Hereof then we doe gather two things: the first, That the enimie, to keepe Portugall, hath brought and caused the ciuill Warre in France: the second, That our deliuerance and his ruine doe depend vpon this, That there be sent a good army into Spaine, whereof he is exceedingly afraid.

Wherefore, most excellent Princes, to deliuer your estates from the danger that threateneth them, and to set them in assurance, you ought to vndertake, and to enterprise this Voyage, so importune, and so necessarie for all Christendome, without hauing any regard to the charge thereof, be it neuer so great, considering that in not doing it, and that presently, you shall euery day more and more in time to come, bring your selues into hazard and extreame danger. Take example by the times fore-past, and looke vpon the instructions contayned in Histories, written by men no lesse curious then vigilant and well affectioned to the weale publike, and in reading and vnderstanding them, make your owne profit and benefit of them.

How important a thing it
is, to make war
vpon an enemy
in his owne
Countrey.

Agathocles, after he had beene about seuen yeeres King of Sicily, being enuironed both by Land and by Sea, within the Citie of Syracusa, by the Carthaginians: and finding himselfe in great trouble and perplexitie, as being lately forsaken of many people of his owne Realme, who had at the first beene partakers with him; and perceiuing also that he wanted both victuals, money, and other necessarie munitions for the warre, and that it was not possible for him to escape out of the hands of the Carthaginians, if he did not vse some draught or deice, which had not erst beene put in practise: He did at the last leaue within the Towne a brother of his owne, to whom hee committed the commaund and charge thereof, and left with him for the defence thereof, a certaine number of men, whom he knew to be well affected vnto him; and taking with himselfe certaine other troopes, he embarked them, vnknowne to any whither hee went,

went, and setting sayle to Africke, hee there landed : where hee warred so couragiously vpon the Carthaginians, as if they had beene but his equals. And hauing at the first beginning defeated certaine of their Captaines that came against him, he ouer-ran, harried, and wasted all their Countrey, hee burnt and ransacked all their Townes, Villages, and houses of pleasure round about Carthage. After which victorie and good fortune, with a certaine number of souldiers, Bandoliers, and aduenturers, which came and ioyned themselues with him (a thing vsuall and ordinarie in such tumultuous and troublesome times) he encamped within a League of Carthage. By this stratageme, his affaires did not onely prosper in Africke, but throughout all Sicily also : for *Antander* (so was his brother named) being certified of the good successe of *Agathocles*, tooke courage vnto him, and sallying out of Syracusa vpon the Carthaginians that besieged him, hee woon their trenches, and hauing slaine a great number of them, hee made such hauocke amongst them, that this their ouerthrow, and the victories of Africke, being spread abroad and reported, from thenceforth all the strong-holds and places of Sicily (that before held with the Carthaginians) did then reuolt from them, and did altogether abandon them : which was the occasion also, that *Agathocles* returning victorions into Sicily, did all the rest of his life time afterwards enjoy it quietly and peaceably.

This was about 314.yeres before the birth of Christ

After the death of *Agathocles*, and his partizans, the Signiorie of Carthage continued the Warre for the Conquest of Sicilia, in such sort, that in the end they carryed it, and held the whole Island in their possession, which was about 277.yeeres before the birth of Christ. Whereupon the Romanes considering of all these their exploits, and perceiuing that the puissance of the Carthaginians was very great, and that they held not onely the greatest and best part of Africke, which they had subdued by force of Armes, but also many peoples of Spaine,

with sundry Isles in the Sea, round about Sardinia & Italy, they did very wisely imagine, that this neighbourhood of theirs would proue very dangerous & perillous vnto them, if they should finish and goe through with the conquest of all Sicily. For this cause they tooke such good order in providing for their affaires, as they brought the Carthaginians to this extremitie, that they had no more in their possession saue the Towne of Erix: the which *Amilcar Barcyn*, the father of *Hanniball*, did defend against them most valiantly for a long time, and did therein maruellous deeds of armes. Notwithstanding, the Carthaginians seeing that they could not withstand nor resist the force and puillance of the Romans, they sent a messenger vnto *Amilcar*, commanding him to render and deliuer vp the Towne immediately, and to make peace with them, to the greatest honor, profit, and aduantage that he could possibly, for the state of Carthage.

Amilcar (doing as the Seigniorie had commanded him) gaue vp the Towne to the Consul *Lucretius*, and within few dayes after, following the course of his affaires, returned into Africke, where hee had many victories against certaine seditious persons: and so he setled the estate of Carthage in rest and quietnesse. This done, hee made a voyage into Spaine, taking with him his sonne *Hanniball*, who was not then aboue eight or nine yeeres of age, together with his mother (who was a Spaniard) and three other of his younger sonnes, *Asdrubal*, *Mago*, and *Hanno*; of whom, *Amilcar* their father was wont to say, That hee nourished foure fierce Lyons whelpes, who were resolute to worke the destruction of the estate of Rome. *Amilcar* then being in Spaine, by his prudence and liberalitie did gayne the hearts and good affections of the Spaniards, that he knew well he should be able by their meanes to haue about againe with the Romans, to recouer from them both Sicilia and Sardinia (which they had also in their puillance) and that so in the end he might passe from thence into Italy, and there to procure their vtter ruine and destruction. But being pre-

mented

This was about 240 yeeres before the birth of Christ

In the yeere 337.

A saying of *Amilcar* touching *Hannibal* and his other sonnes.

unted by death, he charged his sonne *Hannibal* (whom hee had coniured to be, during his life, an vtter and vnreconcilable enemy to the Romans) to put this his enterprife in execution. *Hannibal*, after the death of *Asdrubal* his brother in law (who succeeded his father in law *Amilcar* in that gouernment) being then made gouernour of Spaine, tooke the Citie of Saguntum (which is now called Monvedre) after hee had held it besieged the space of eight moneths. After the taking whereof, he began to dispose and prepare himselfe to the voyage of Italy: and hauing with great traualles and many difficulties passed the Alpes, he obtayned in proces of time so many notable victories against the Romans, and did put them in such feare and terror, that they did in a manner hold themselues vtterly vndone & forlorne. And so had they beene indeed, if they had not beene aduised to send *Scipio* into Africke: who made such cruell warre so forcibly and so violently vpon the Carthaginians, that hee constrayned them to call home *Hannibal* out of Italy; who within short time after, with the whole estate of Carthage, was ouerthrowne & brought to nought, as is well knowne vnto all men. And so by this meanes were the Romans eased and deliuered, enioying peace and quietnesse, and the Carthaginians vndone, defeated, and subdued: and their estate (which had beene so famous and renowned) was vtterly ruinated and brought vnder the power and puissance of their enemies.

In the yeere
118.

In the yeere
113.

In the yeere
117.

In the yeere
116.

Hannibal passeth into Italy.

Scipio goeth against Carthage.

Xerxes King of Persia seeing himselfe in a miserable estate, and bethinking how he might deliuer and rayse himselfe vp againe, he made choyse of certaine of his seruants, fit for the execution of his intended purpose, and them hee sent into Europe with store of money, to corrupt the Orators of the Townes and Commonwealths of Greece: and hauing corrupted them of Athens and of Thebes, hee made them to rise in armes, and to make warre vpon the Spartans. By this meanes Greece being set in trouble and dissention, sent for *Agessilaus* (who hauing at that time subdued

Plutarch in the
life of Agessilaus.

a great part of the Empire of Persia) and being willed to come home, was enforced to quit and abandon the same, for the relieuing of his Countrey from those troubles wherewith it was entangled. And because the Money of Persia had an Archer engrauen on the one side thereof, the same *Agessilaw* had a saying, That ten thousand Archers had driuen him out of Asia, and had beene the cause to make him loose a most stately and puissant Empire. By this policie then did *Xerxes* rid himselfe from the trouble and extremitie wherein he was, driving out his enemy from his Countrey, and recouering his estate, that was neere ruine and confusion.

Achaius King
of Scotland.

By these examples (most excellent Princes) was *Achaius* King of Scotland, the sonne of *Elphus*, a singular good Prince, and of excellent vertue, induced in the yeere of Christ 791. to make a perpetuall and irrevocable Peace and League of Amitie with *Charlemagne* King of France, at such time as he saw himselfe hardly bestead by the Saxons & English, who then possessed the better part of Great Brittain, which within a few yeeres after was called by one onely name, England. The other Kings, the successors of *Charlemagne*, considering that this peace and amitie was more necessarie for them, as being more to their profit and aduantage, then it was to the Scots themselves, who sought it, they haue continued the same euen till this day, and by meanes thereof haue oftentimes constrained the Englishmen, when they haue beene in warres & enmity with them, to retire and withdraw themselves out of France: and many times also they haue kept them so busied in their own countrey, that they haue had enough to do to defend themselves. And they haue taken from them both the desire & the means to passe into strange & foreine Nations: yea, there haue bin some of the French kings, who haue giuen to the Scot, to this end and purpose, more then 500000. Crownes; which was as much in those dayes then (hauing regard to the change and difference of the times) as two millions are at this day.

I will

Money giuen
to the Scots
by the French

I will omit many other Histories, which make notably to this our purpose, because I know well that these are sufficient to shew how greatly it concerneth and importeth the Protestant Princes, and most Christian King of France to free your selfe from the encombrance of this burthen now laid vpon you, and to send a good armie into Spaine: for as much as by such a voyage well handled and to good purpose, dependeth both the safety of your selues, and the ruine of your enemy. If you make warre vpon your enemy within Spaine, hee shall be compelled to call home all his forces, not onely from France & the Low Countries, but al those which he hath in Lombardy, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and other countries: we had good prooffe and experience hereof euen of late: For as soone as the Castilian saw the English possessed of Calice, hee did incontinently send for all his gillies of Naples, Sicily, and Genes: He sent to intreate the grand master of *Malta* to send him the Gallies appertaining to the knights of the Religion. Which had been done if the French Gentlemen, which were of the order, had not opposed the selues against it. He caused in all haste the Forces which hee had in Brittain: to passe into Spaine: and there is no doubt but hee had likewise called home all those which he had in other countries, if the English had remained there any longer time. You see then (most excellent Princes) that by passing into Spaine you may withdraw from ouer your heads the sword of the Castilian and deliuer your country from his proud yoke and tyranny. But you will say: the enemy hath great and puissant forces, and a great number of old and expert souldiers; by whose meanes, albeit they be farre off, yet being called backe into Spaine, he will greatly endamage and annoy you, and consequently, your voyage may proue vnprofitable, and perhaps very dangerous: and so you may be enforced to retire and returne home againe, not onely with shame and confusion, but (which is more) in great trouble and extreme perill. But vnto this I answer.

The meanes
to ruine the
enemy.

1.

First, if you do all things with prudence and good aduise, you reape thereby incredible profit and commoditie. and the danger will be small, or none at all.

2.

Secondly, that in Spaine there are many places vpon the Sea coast which you may easily take and command, and whose situation is so strong by nature, that if they be fortified by art and the industrie of man, you shall defend and keepe them with a very small charge, and much more easily then the enemy doth keepe *Blancs* in Brittain: and those will serue you for sure places of retrait.

Thirdly, in Spaine there are many nations which do hate the Castilian extremely: for that they haue beene tyrannized, either by himselfe, or by his predecessors: and these (when they shall see themselves aided and assisted in good earnest, and to purpose) for the great desire which they haue to be at libertie, will soone take armes against the enemy.

Fourthly, those Souldiers which are out of Spaine being called backe by their Lord and master, cannot arriue there within foure moneths at the soonest, and within two moneths may you arme and furnish fit and ready for the warres, all those of the countrey which will take your part. For this is most certaine, that the very Climate of the countrey doth helpe and aide to make them able and active. I my selfe, and many others in Portugall haue sometimes seene a company of new souldiers at their first entring into garrison, to seem rather a troupe of beggers, and poore rascals, rather then souldiers, al of them being so poore, naked and miserable, as we had pittie to see them; and yet within foure or five dayes, after that they haue beene new apparelled, and well appointed, if you had seene them settled in the garrison, you would haue said, that they had beene great Gentlemen, and they did carrie themselves with so good a grace and countenance, as if they had beene braue and old trained souldiers. I doe assure you, that two moneths will suffice to them of the country to make them souldiers.

The

The greatest difficultie is to make them abide, and not to feare the fire of the Hargubush. Moreouer, the Prouinces of Spaine are rich, as all the world knoweth, and the inhabitants make not any account nor reckoning of their wealth, when there is any question for the recouering of their libertie. For in this case they will not spare to spend it liberally, as was to be seene by the offer which they made to king *Philip*, after that the Englishmen were retired from Calice: and therefore by sending of money into their quarters, they will gather together fiftie thousand men of warre to passe into Spaine for their succour, defence, and preservation, sooner then the enemy shall bee able to cause five thousand to come thither from any forraine partie.

The nature of
the naturall
Spaniard.

If any man shall say, that seeing two moneths are sufficient to make the naturall Spaniards good souldiers, the enemy may therfore much sooner assemble and arme a great number of men then we shall get for succour. I answer: I would agree thereto, if there were in Spaine armes sufficient wherewith to arme and furnish them: but they are so rare and daintie there to be had, that there bee many great townes notably well peopled, within the which a man cannot finde fiftie Hargubushes. And if there were any store of armes to be had, yet the Spaniards in Spaine would take armes sooner, and much more cheerefully for their libertie, then for the seruice of one that tyrannizeth ouer them. Especially the Princes and great Lords, who doe desire nothing so much as that there were some realme or prouince within Spaine in full and free libertie, and which might be gouerned by it selfe, to the intent it might serue them for a place of refuge and sanctuarie, as they had the like in times past. For Spaine being in manner as an Iland, at this day the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of marke cannot easily withdraw themselves from thence; by meanes whereof they are held in great slauerie and subiection. When there were seuerall kings in Nauarre, Arragon and Portugall, if the Castilians were at any difference with their king, or
the

Armes very
rare in Spaine.

Spaine in ma-
ner of an Iland.

the Nauarrois, the Arragonois, or Portugals with theirs,
 they would haue retired themselues the one to the other;
 by whose liberalitie they were euer provided of all things
 needfull and necessary for the life of man, and sometimes
 with greater ease and commodity then in their owne coun-
 trey: as it happened in the time of *Fernand* king of Portu-
 gall, and of *Henrie* the second king of Castile, who slue his
 owne naturall and lawfull brother; which was the cause
 that Countie *Don Fernand de Castre*, and *Don Aluar peres de*
Castre his brother: *Men Suares*, Grandmaster of *Alcantara*:
Suer Iuan de Parada Gouverneur of the Realme of *Galatia*:
Petro Giron, Grandfather of *Calatrana*, *Alonso Giron* his
 Nephew, and many other great Lords and Gentlemen,
 with a great number of Cities and Townes holding the
 party of the king deceased, did conuey themselues into
 Portugall, where they were receiued by the king *Fernand*,
 and had most honourable entertainment, with most nota-
 ble fauours, rich presents, and incredible gifts, which hee
 gaue vnto them most bountifully. In so much that from
 thenceforth the *Castres* did continue still and inhabit in
 Portugall, from whom are descended those which are there
 of that name now at this day. The like happened to *Diego*
Lopez Pacheco a Portugall (albeit not for so iust and ho-
 nourable a cause) who going from Portugall into Castile
 for being charged with the death of the Queene *Dame Iues*
de Castro, in the time of the king *Don Peter* of Portugall,
 hee was then created Lord of *Beiar*, and his children also
 made Lords of other peoples, of whom the *Marquesse* of
Villana, the *Dukes* of *Escalon*, and many other great Lords
 haue their descent and originall. In like manner, in the
 time of king *Iuan* of Portugall of happy memory, the *A-*
cugnas and *Pimentels* went into Castile: and of them
 are descended directly in the line masculine, the *Dukes* of
Osuna and Counties of *Benauent*, and in a manner all the
 Princes and Lords of Castile, and *Dame Iulian de Lanca-*
sir Duchesse of *Auero* in Portugall. Now at this day the
 No-

Hierom Gu-
 liel. cap. 23.
 fol. 81 pag. 2.

Alias Iohn,

Nobilitie of Spaine doth greatly want such places of refuge and sanctuarie, and now, the least Prouost or Marshall is sufficient to arrest the greatest Lord of the countrey, yea though it were the brother of the King himselfe : in so much that the Princes and Lords of Spaine doe as heartily desire to see some Realme or Prouince set at libertie, as they doe their owne safetie. None can tell how great an affliction and notable a misery famine is, but hee that wanteth bread to eat : and the Nobilitie of Spaine doth at this day with great griefe finde that to be true, which they most of all feared in the time of *Charles* the fifth, whose greatnesse they had euen then suspected : and for this cause they did shew themselves mightily aggriued at such time as King *Philip* did enterprise the vsurpation of Portugall.

Conestagio a Genouois in the booke which he hath written in fauour of the sayd *Philip*, and which is intituled, The vnion of the Realme of Portugall with the Crowne of Castile, doth tell vs both the one and the other of these matters. And although in that worke of his there be many true reports, yet we doe know him for a great and notable Lier : and euen the very first word of that booke is an vntruth ; in that he hath entituled it, The vnion of Portugall with the Crowne of Castile : for king *Philip* in the assembly of estate which he held at Tomar in the yeare 1581. where the Portugals against their wills, and by force did receiue him for their king, promised and sware with a solemne oath, neuer to intermingle the matter and affaires of Portugall with those of Castile, but to keepe for euer the Monarchy of Portugall entire in the same estate, and in the same manner, as the kings his precessors had alwayes preserved and maintained it : paying all the pensions, fees and wages to all the officers of the kings house, both Spirituall and Temporall, in like sort as they were payd in the times of the true and good kings forepassed. Somewhat of this matter a man may see in the end of the booke of Explication of the Genealogie of his most Christian Maiestie, where

The Nobilitie of Spain want places of refuge and sanctuary at this day.

The sorrow & griefe of the Princes and Lords of Spaine to see the inuasion & vsurpation of Portugal, & the desire they haue to see it at libertie.

The oath of King *Philip*.

The Explication of the Genealogy of the French King now reigning : The authour whereof was Frier Ioseph Texere.

it is spoken of the first king of Castile.

Moreouer, the said *Conestagio*, as a man of a maligne and peruerse spirit, is a most vngratefull enemy of that nation, which hath both aduanced and honoured him. For wee knew him at Lisbon when he serued *Antonio Caulo*, and afterwards with *Stephen Lercaro*, a Matchant of Genoa. He hath in his booke these words:

3. fol. 63.

In Castile this succession gaue great matter whereof both to muse and to talke, both in private and in publike: for that the king caused the Estate of Portugall to be united to his other Realmes and Dominions, not caring how, nor in what fashion it were done, so it were effected. The which the Nobilitie tooke very ill: in so much as it seemeth that all the great men of Spaine, since the time of Charles the fifth to this day, could not away nor like of the greatnesse of the king: because thereof it hath proceeded; that hee maketh lesse reckoning of them then did the ancient kings of Castile, and hee constraineth them to be equall to their inferiours, as well in iustice as otherwise.

If *Don Antonio* king of Portugall were liuing, hee could witnesse, how after that the enemy was entred into Portugall with a huge armie, and had taken *Lisbon*, hee being then in the towne of *Badaios*, many Lords of Castile did offer him to haue entrance into the sayd towne, and did promise him all their best aide and assistance to seize vpon the enemy himselfe. The which the said Prince could not effect nor put in execution; for that within few dayes after he was dispossessed of all the realme in the citie of *Puerso* of Portugall. He could also certifie vs, how that seeing in these parts many great Lords of Castile did send vnto him, offering him their seruice and assistance, in case that he would set foot in Portugall: the which matter he communicated (if I be not deceiued) to the king and principall Lords of France, and principally to the estate and Councell

cell of England. Notwithstanding, touching this desire of libertie, it is a matter which doth principally touch the Princes, great Lords, and *Hijos de Algo* of Spaine. For, as concerning those masters of the long robe, and the rascal sort of Castilians; they take a pleasure in this their slavery and servitude vnder the king, because they alone doe command and rule all, and triumphing ouer others, haue the principall and chiefe managing of all the affaires of the Realme: yea, and euen the gouernment of the king himselfe, in their owne hands. And although they doe hate him most extremely, and doe wish ill enough to his person; yet notwithstanding they doe wish so well to their owne country, and doe so delight to see themselves to haue the command ouer all others; that if they know any thing, either in publicke or in priuat, which might hinder and endamage his tyrannie, they will not faile, onely in regard thereof, to aduertise him of it: such is the naturall disposition of the Castilians, who being issued and sprung from the race of the Iewes, cannot but follow the tracke of their predecessors. Today they would follow and honour *Antigonus*, to morrow they would accuse his bountie, as a crime of high treason, and iudge it to bee little lesse then pride and vanitie, and as traitors they abandon and forsake him, accusing him before *Aristobulus*, and so be the causers of his death and destruction. And therefore most humbly I beseech your Maiesties, and all Christian Princes, to keepe your selues from the Castilians, and not to trust them, howsoeuer they shew themselves mortal and deadly enemies to their kings, and do make neuer so faire semblance, that they are well and heartily affected to do you seruice.

The common sort of Castilians (Sir) are so maligne and peruerse, so full of pride, arrogancy, ambition, tyranny, and infidelity; that *Fernand* king of Portugall, being the right and lawfull heire to the Realmes of Castile and Leon, and being called vpon by the people of the same kingdomes, who offered to receiue him for their Lord and

Josephus de bello iudaeo lib. 1. cap. 3.

Good and sound counsell

The malicious nature of the Castilian nation.

king, the Portugals would in no wise consent therunto, saying: that they would not haue any thing to doe, nor meddle with them, no nor though it were to command ouer them. It was my hap one day, to deuise vpon this matter with a noble man of the French kings Councell, who seeming much astonish'd at the report thereof, did make mee this answer: Certainly, this that you tell me, doth make me not so much to maruell, as that which I haue heard reported of a Fryer Preacher, who in the yeare of our Lord 1576. preaching vpon this part of the Gospel: *Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God, &c. and thy neighbour as thy selfe:* said, that by this precept, God commanded vs, not onely to loue our father and mother, brothers, kinsfolke, friends, and countrey men: but euen heretikes also and strangers, lewes, Paynims, Moores, Turkes, and the Castilians themselues. This happened (as it was told him) and this Preacher was a religious person of the order of S. *Dominicke*, and he did Preach in a parish Church of Lisbon, called Saint *Magdalens*, being one of the principall Churches within the citie, and there were present at it, the most part of the Gouer-nours of the towne, with many Presidents of the Parliament, Councillors, Gentlemen, and rich Marchants. The said noble man shewing himselfe greatly abashed at this report, did demand of me; how it could be tollerated, that this should be spoken openly in the Pulpit, and the religious person not punished for it. Whereunto I answered: that there wanted not any accusers, to call him in question for it: but the number of them (that did beare with him and fauoured him for the franknesse and libertie of this his speech) was so great, that those which did accuse him, could not be heard. Moreouer, it is an ordinary and vsuall thing with the Portugals, to say: *That the Castilians are worse then the Infidels themselues.* But let them speake the worst of them they can, yet will they beare and endure it, because they reape great benefite and aduantage by it. The which the sayd Nobleman seeing, in sort to make doubt of,

Math. 22.

An example
worthy the
marking.

Portugals
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of, he did thus reply vnto me: Albeit I doe beleue some part of this you say, yet there resteth one thing, which is as a scruple in my mind; and that is, in that (as I haue read) the Portugals and the Castilians are both of one and the same Prouince, and are borne in a manner of one Stock, and issued of one Root, and doe speake one and the selfe-same Language: that is the opinion of *Conestagio*, of whom we haue before spoken. But he sayth he knoweth not what: for the Portugals are descended of the Gaules, the Celtes, and the Braccates, and their Language is almost the same with the Latine Tongue. But as touching the Castilians, we cannot certainly say, from whence they are descended: Neuerthelesse, the best iudgement and coniecture thereof, that can be made by circumstances and euident proofes, is, that they are descended of the Vandals, of the Iewes, and of the Moores; and their Language is in a manner all one with that of the Moores, and their pronounciation is all one, or much alike. Thereof it commeth, that the Castilians being in the countrey of the Saracens, or of the Turkes, they doe loone and very easily denie the Christian Faith, and doe turne altogether Turke and Infidell. True it is, that the Princes, great Lords, and *Hyos de Algo*, are extracted eyther from the Gothes, or from the ancient Spaniards, which inhabited the mountaines and the countries of Leon, and of Ouiedo, and the Prouince of Galitia, within which is enclosed the ancient Portugall. *Conestagio* in the same place last before recited, sayth, that these two Nations doe hate each other most extreemely: and hee setteth downe one notable vntruth, to wit, That the hatred of the Portugall doth farre exceed that of the Castilians; which is altogether false, and vntrue. The Portugals doe not hate the Castilians, but they abhorre their actions, as most wicked, and full of crueltie and tyrannie: The Castilians on the contrarie, because they cannot with any reason hate the actions of the Portugals, for that they are good and iust, they doe therefore hate their persons, who haue so

Conestagio.
lib. 1. fol. 4.
p. 2.

The vntruth
of *Conestagio*

often ouercome, vanquished, and ill handled them; and so much the more, for that their numbers were alwayes (as a man may say) infinire, and the Portugals were very few, and in comparison of them, as nothing. The hatred of the Castillians is so certaine against the Portugals, that it is vsually spoken in manner of a prouerbe, That since the battaile of *Alybarto*, the Castillians would neuer suffer any to preach vpon the Fryday, in the first weeke of Lent; on which day the Church vseth to sing that part of the Gospell, where it is said, *Loue your enemies*: and therefore they iudge the Portugals to be like themselves; and they esteeme them to be of the same nature and disposition as they are. Both the one and the others hatred may well be seene by that which *Charles* the fift said one day to the Colonell *Ferras*, a Portugall, who in the warres betweene the sayd Emperour and *Francis* the first, King of France, did serue on the French partie against the Imperialists. The warres being ended, and peace concluded betweene those two Princes, the Portugall retyring himselfe into his countrey, did passe by the way of Castile, where he went to visit the said *Charles* the fift, who knew him very well, and did loue him for his valour; and doing him great honour in his Court; he stayed him there for certaine dayes with him: during which time, as hee was one day deuising with him very familiarly, hee vsed this speech vnto him: Captaine *Ferras*, I would gladly know, what should be the cause that made you to follow the partie of the French against me, seeing wee are of one and the same Nation? for albeit you be a Portugall, and I a Castillian, yet are we both Spaniards. The Colonell made him this answer: Sir, when the Portugals doe trauaile abroad out of their owne countrey, whether they be rich or poore, their onely end and scope is, to get them honour and reputation. For mine owne part, I had the meanes to liue honestly in my countrey, like a Gentleman: neuerthelcffe, being resolved to see the world, I began to cast my account with my selfe,

what

Matth. 9.

A speech of
Charles the 5.
to Captaine
Ferras, a Por-
tugall.

what course I were best to take. Having made my reckoning, I conceived with my selfe, that I should purchase me more honour, by bearing Armes against the greatest Captaine of the World, then in taking of his part to serue against any other: and for this cause I tooke Armes against your Maiestie. The Emperour smyling, sayd: I belecue that this is not the cause, but rather the old rancour and hatred which the Portugals beare to the Castilians. The Portugall answered him againe in great choller: Sir, I sweare vnto your Maiestie, That neyther for good, nor for bad, I trouble not my minde with the Castilians, not so much as to thinke of them. The Emperour making semblance as though this answer did content him, did embrace him many times and often: but hee iudged of the Portugall as his affection led him, for hee had enough of the blood of a Castilian by his mothers side, to make him to hate him: *A little Leauen, &c.* And thus may you see the vntruth of *Conestagio*: His Historie is well written, and in a good stile, but most false, and full of passion, for hee both reprehendeth and iniurieth all those of whom hee speaketh; yea, euen King *Philip* himselfe, in whose fauour hee wrote it: and for this cause principally it was forbidden in Portugall. But leauing *Conestagio*, now that we haue shewed how the Castilian Nation is much more maligne and peruerse then all the other people of Spaine, I will tell you one thing worthy to be noted ere wee proceed, which doth more neerely touch the Portugall Nation than any of the rest; that is, That all those Nations generally are so desirous of libertie, that they doe seeke by all meanes possible to obtayne it, being readie to receiue euen the Devils themselues, if they would be readie to further and fauour them in the same. And yet, if any strange Nation should passe into Spaine to any other end, they would vse the vttermoost of their endeouours to stop their passage, and to hinder their entrance, making little or no reckoning of their liues, and much lesse of their goods and substance.

An excellent
answere of a
Portugall to
Charles the 5.

When

When I doe speake of causing strange Nations to passe into Spaine, I must tell you thus much, That they shall be much more welcome, and finde better entertainment of the people of the Countrey, when they shall be mingled many and diuers Nations together, then if one should goe thither alone: for that this diuersitie will take from them all conceit and suspition which they might otherwise haue, that their comming were to make a conquest of their countrey, and not to procure their libertie and freedome; and so they would vndoubtedly receiue them ioyfully, and with all assurance. In like manner, if the Tyrant should commaund them to goe to the warres out of their owne countrey, especially if it were for their Religion, they would serue him more faithfully then did *Ausla* and *Simancas* in Castile, or *Eclorico* & the Castle of Coimbre in Portugall. For prooffe hereof, you may remember, how in the yeere 1588. the King of Castile in his Fleet and Armie by Sea, that came vpon the Coast of France, sent two Regiments of Portugals, each of them consisting of eight hundred men, or thereabouts. These forces (notwithstanding, that in regard of his vsurpation of the countrey, they were enemies to him) yet hauing promised to serue him faithfully in this voyage, in the fight which they had against the Englishmen and Flemings, they did make such prooffe of their valour, that they did farre excell all the rest of the Army in prowesse and deedes of Armes; and they alone did more for the seruice of the King of Castile, then all the residue of his Allies: insomuch, that there was none of them (who had command and gouernment in the Army) that were receiued with honour by the King Catholike, saue only the Portugall Colonels; namely, *Gasper de Sousa*, and *Antonie Perera*: The which *Perera* before that time had serued and fought most valiantly for the defence of the libertie of his Countrey, and for the seruice of his true and naturall King, against the said King of Castile, at such time as hee entred into Portugall with a mightie Army to inuade it.

The meaning hereof is expounded in the end of this Treatise.

The loyaltye of the Portugals.

Portugall Colonels in the Armie of the yeere 1588.

In the yeere 1582. when *Don Aluar de Bassana*, Mar-
 quesse de *Santa Cruce*, did encounter vpon the Sea with the
 Lord de *Siroce*, those which fought best, and shewed them-
 selies most valiant, was the Marquesse de *Fauare*, a Portu-
 gall, most true and faithfull to his Countrey, and to his
 King; and by whose counsaile and aduertisements, a cer-
 taine great and excellent seruitor of the estate, and of the
 King *Don Antonio*, had his life preserued, besides certaine
 other Gentlemen, his countreymen.

Marquesse of
 Fauare.

Who tooke the Ship called the *Reuenge*, belonging to
 the Queene of England? euen *Don Lewes Contigno*, a Lord
 of Portugall, who before time had beene most true and
 faithfull to his Countrey; and for the defence of his King,
 fighting against the Duke de *Alua*, had receiued many
 mortall wounds in the battaile of *Alcantara*, the same day
 that Lisbon was lost, which was in the yeere 1580. and
 the 26. of August.

The taking of
 the *Reuenge*
 of England,

And for the more distinct and cleare demonstration of
 the truth of this matter, I will recite vnto you a most true
 Historie.

In the yeere 1589. *Don Anthonio*, King of Portugall, ac-
 companied with the Englishmen and Hollanders, made a
 Voyage into Portugall, and casting anchor in the Hauen of
 Penicha, they of the Castle began to play with their Ordi-
 nance vpon the armie: but the Captaine of the Castle, *An-
 thonio de Araujo*, a Portugall, being ascertained that the king
Don Anthonio was in that armie, he forbad the Cannoniers
 to shoot any more, and caused a white Ensigne to be put
 forth; vpon sight whereof, *Don Anthonio* commanded that
 euery man should goe on shore, and take their way towards
 the Towne: the which they did, not without some resi-
 stance made by certaine companies of Castillians, who in
 the end were forced to retyre, with the losse of some of
 their people. The first that arriued to the Towne, was the
 Countie of Essex, a Prince of the blood Royall of England,
 and one that was adorned with many morall vertues. This

Lord comming to speake with the Captaine of the Castle, which was vpon the Wall, one of his companie sayd: My Lord. the Earle of Essex is come hither by the commandement of the Queene of England, in whose name hee commandeth to haue the Castle rendred vnto him. The Captaine answered him; *Philip* King of Castile hath committed the keeping of this Castle vnto me, and for the same I haue done him homage: in regard whereof, I will defend it against all those that shall seeke to dispossesse me of it; and I will not yeeld it vp to any person, saue to the King *Don Anthonio*, because his it is, and I acknowledge him onely for my King and Lord: and if he be not in this armie, as hath been told me that he is, I would aduise that euery man doe retyre himselfe, otherwise I shall cause you all to loose your liues. Vpon this word, the Countie of Essex retyred himselfe to the Sea side, and there went to meete him, the Lords *Scipio de Figueyredo Vasconcelles*, late Gouvernour of the *Terceras*, and *Anthony de Brito Pimentell*, and other Gentlemen Portugals of the Kings trayne; who vnderstanding by the Count the speech of the Captaine, went on directly to the Castle, and assured the Captaine, that the King *Don Anthonio*, their Lord, was come thither. Within a while after the King arriuing there, and calling the Captaine, who knew him by his speech, hee made him this answer: Sir, I come to open the gates vnto your Maiestie. The port being opened, he kneeled downe before the King, and kissing his hands, deliuered him the Keyes of the Castle. This is most true, that if he would haue held good, the English armie had not bin able to haue taken that Castle, it was so well furnished and provided of artillerie, and all things necessarie: for besides great store of Iron peeeces, there were 85. of Brasse.

The yeelding
of the Castle
of Penicha.

All these examples doe shew euidently, how faithfull the Portugals are to them, to whom they haue once promised and plighted their faith and fidelitie. And for as much as I know that your Maiesties haue conceived an opinion of me as of a person giuen to be somewhat curious, and who is

acquainted with the accidents which paſſed in this Voyage, and that your Maieſties haue a deſire to vnderſtand what was the cauſe why *Don Anthonio* did not continue in Portugall, and what made him to render vp this Caſtle, and other places which were impregnable, and to returne into England with his armie, without doing any other act of any worth, and with the loſſe of the greateſt part of his companie, with which he was embarked; I will briefly recount the ſucceſſe of this Iourney, crauing many particularities, becauſe to count them all, it would require much more time then is requiſite for the finiſhing of this Treatiſe. I ſay then, that as God, when he chaſteneth & humbleth great Eſtates and Monarchies, doth ſuffer and permit, for the ſinnes of the people, ſuch as are like *Pharao's*, *Nabuchodonozors*, *Caligula's*, *Nero's*, and *Diocleſians*, vſing them as his executioners and hangmen (as *Attila* called himſelfe the Scourge of God, and *Tamerlan* the Wrath of God:) ſo it ſeemeth he hath permitted, that *K. Philip* ſhould be his miniſter & the executioner of his wrath & anger; and that in his ſecret iudgement, beyond all apparance of humane reaſon, his will is not yet that Portugall ſhould be deliuered and ſet at libertie: for it is not poſſible, that men ſhould be ſo blinded, to their owne loſſe and deſtruction, as they were in this Voyage, if the Diuine puiſſance had not blinded them, by taking away the uſe of their ſence and vnderſtanding.

The greateſt part of the Armie was embarked at Douer, the 24. of March, and from thence went to Plimmouth: From thence they departed all together the 29. of Aprill; at which time perceiuing their numbers to be greatly diminished, by the contagion that was amongſt them; in ſtead of taking the direct way to Portugall, they ſet their courſe for the Groine, where the moſt part of the ſouldiers died, and all the beſt Canoniers: inſomuch, that their forces were much abated, and they gaue thereby good leysure vnto the enemy, both to ſend freſh men into Liſbon, and to draw out of Portugal thoſe who were any way ſuſpected:

The declaration of the Portugall Voyage in the yeere 1589.

Noble men
taken out of
Portugall by
the Castillian.

Wine marreth
all.

as they did indeed take from thence more then an hundred Lords and Gentlemen of marke, who were all of them very contrarie to him, and by their absence were greatly missed both of their King and countrey. They came to the Groine the sixt of May, where they were till the twentieth, on which day they did againe take shipping, and set sayle towards Portugall, where they tooke land at Penicha the sixe and twentieth. From thence (hauing left in the Castle certaine souldiers with *Anthonie de Brito Pimentel*, aboue named, who is the chiefe of the House of the *Pimentels* of Spaine, and about 800. sick men) they tooke their way (the Generall *Drake* by Sea, and the Lord Generall *Norris* by Land) with 35. or 40. horse, and some 6000. foot, so ill armed, that a good part of them wanted their Swords, and there was not of them aboue 50. Corsets: the cause whereof, was want of Waggones and Carriages, for to carry them ouer the land, and the souldiers themselues were constrained to carry their powder on their shoulders. Besides, many of them at their departure out of their lodgings, had left their Pikes, and some their Harquebuses, loading themselues with pots & bottels of Wine, which they found there in great abundance, the which in very truth did the more hinder and endamage them: for by meanes hereof they fell into diuerse diseases, and died in great numbers; the English Nation not being accustomed to drinke Wine alwayes, & their Beere is not so strong a kind of drinke. The day following, 3. leagues before their arriuall to a Towne called *Loires Vedras*, the keyes of the Castle were brought to the king *Don Anthonio*, which Castle is so strong, that 20. men with necessarie munitions may keepe & defend it against 100000. All the way along to Lisbon (which is 60. good miles) there was not one Castillian that durst appeare; and 7. horsemen English did put to flight 60. Castillians. From thenceforth many Portugals came to kisse the hands of their King, in great abundance: notwithstanding, for that they came without armes, hauing beene before disarmed, and for that there

was

was nobody of whom they might get or haue any neither for loue nor money (howbeit that they brought with them good store of siluer purposely to that effect) they did the most part of them returne againe to their owne houses: and there could not be armed of them aboue one thousand foot, and 120. horse with Lances and targets: notwithstanding that the number of them which came was in a manner infinite. Amongst whom there were many Gentlemen of good reckoning, who (because they were not clothed in Veluet and Satin, but plainly after the fashion of the countrey) were not knowne nor acknowledged by the strangers to be of that qualitie. On the Friday the second of Iune, they came in the night time to Lisbon, and were lodged in the suburbs of Saint Katherine, which are so great, that there were aboue 12000. persons of the Armie lodged there all at large, and yet they held not the third part thereof. The officers of the king *Don Anthonio* found, that the Marchandize in this suburbs was worth more then foure millions, to wit, spices, drugs, sugars, wines, flesh, corne, Biskets, and other provisions: as Sir Roger Williams an English Colonell (who was in this armie) did witnesse afterwards in the towne of Manthu, in the presence of many persons of good quality: affirming that he had entred into most of the houses of the sayd suburbs, with an English Marchant which is come forth of the citty, and that the Marchandizes which he saw there, were worth aboue six millions. This suburbe is toward the West Lisbon; in the which they were lodged contrary to the resolution which they had before set downe in a Councell held the day before, about two leagues from the citie; which resolution was, that they should haue encamped on the East side of the citie for two reasons: one was, to hinder the enemy, that they should not haue any succours by land: for that the armie by sea being on the West side, and the sea vpon the South side, and the mountaines of *Sintre* on the North side, they could not possibly haue any intelligence from

The armie arriveth at Lisbon.

A great suburbs.

4 Millions of marchandize of the suburbs of Lisbon.

6. Millions.

A fally of the
Castilians.

The greatneg-
ligence of the
officers of the
armie,

The repulse &
flight of the
Castilians.

any part. The other reason was, for that being in that quarter, on the East side, they should cleare and free the way for the good people of Portugall to come and to haue recourse vnto their king. Now in that they tooke vp their lodging on the West part, was an occasion that the enemy might safely and at pleasure fally out of the towne with two hundred horse, who slew and tooke prisoners many Portugals, and a great quanrity of victuals which were sent by the townes that tooke part with the king: and they were an hindrance also to many others that they could not come to ioyne with him. The Saterday following, the third of Iune, about two or three houres after mid day, there issued out of the citie about two hundred horse and eight hundred foot; some of the which entring within the streets of the suburbs, and crying aloud, God saue the king *Don Anthonie*, they came euen vnto one of the courts of Guard, and there slue to the number of thirteene or foureteene, for that they were lodged in the street without any Baricados made for the fortifying of their lodgings. Notwithstanding the Portugals which followed the king, hauing discovered them to be Castilians and not Portugals, did giue the Alarme so hotly, that a regiment of Englishmen with certaine Portugals making out towards the enemy, did charge him with that fury, that they made them betake themselves to plaine flight, and slue of them vpon the place sixescore: besides that they tooke fortie or fiftie of their horses; and the flight of the Castilians was so hastie and headlong, that in their entry into the Citie, they left the gate of Saint *Antan* wide open. In this encounter died an English Cauallier, Colonel of a regiment named *Bret*, a braue man, and had great experience in the art Militarie. Now for that the Generall *Drake* did not enter within the port or hauen of the citie vntill the Sunday following (as was before resolued hee should haue done:) and for that also the most part of the souldiers had neither match nor powder left, saue onely for the discharge of some two or three

three volley of shot, the Lord Generall *Norris* was constrained to raise the siege, and to retire his forces the Monday morning, without any other thing attempted against the city: within the which the Portugals did expect to have seene the ladders raised vp against the walls, for to have made an assault vpon the Castilians. And for this very cause the same day that the campe did rise, *Don Rodrigo Lobo*, a Gentleman issued of an honourable house, and brother to the Baron de *Aluito* (which is the onely Baron in Portugal, & a great Lord) was made prisoner and lost his head. The same monday being the fifth of Iune, the army came to *Cascais*, from whence they of the army made certaine sallies against the enemy, who were so terrified, that 50 Musquetiers English, and 7. horsemen Portugals made 200. horse Castilians to dislodge from a village within a league and a halfe of *Cascais*, and to flie to Lisbon in such post hast that they left behind them part of their Arms and baggage and their dinner ready dressed. After that (the Castle *Cascais* being rendred) the King and the Generals in a council held the twelfth of that moneth about noone (whereat were present the Count de *Essex* with many other Lords & all the chiefe Commanders of the Armie) they resolved to returne againe to the Citie of Lisbon the day following, which was the day of *S. Anthonie*, a Portugall by birth surnamed Saint *Anthonie* of *Padoa*: & their resolution was thus set downe; That the Lord Generall *Norris* with all such souldiers as are sound and lustie should march by land, and in his company should bee the king: and that the Generall *Drake* with the Mariners, and all the hurt and sicke souldiers, and such Gentlemen as were not able to march by land, should goe by sea: And to put the enemy in the greater disorder and confusion, they should cause to passe on the other side of the Sea 300. Portugals and 800. English. Which if they had put in execution, without all doubt they had gained the Cittie, notwithstanding that there were within it more then foure thousand

The Siege raised from before Lisbon:

The hope of the Portugals.

Don Rodrigo de Lobo executed by the Castilians in Lisbon.

The Castle of Cascais rendred to the King.

A Councell held to returne to Lisbon.

The victorie
at the Groine.

and Castilians : who had conceived a notable feare of the English and Portugals which were with the king, and they of the cities like wise, as knowing well that at the Groigne 800. English, with 200. Hollanders, and few Portugals, had defeated 10000. of their peeple, amongst whom there were some thousand old souldiers which lay there, and were the remainder of the Armie by sea, set forth the yeere before: besides the Countie de *Anarada*, the Countie de *Altimira*, and the Leane of *S. Iames de Compostella*, and many other Gentlemen: insomuch that they of the citie had resolved, that as soone as they should see the Fleet and sea forces of the English to passe the Tower of Bethleem, or the Armie by land to giue an assault vnto the citie, the Cardinall of Austria would haue embarked himselfe with all his people to passe on the other side of the sea: and for this purpose they held all the Gallies, and many barkes in a readinesse to set saile. Amongst which there were many hired for 300 duckats for the passage of three leagues onely. This counsell being ended, and *Drake* himselfe being a boord the ship called the *Reuenge*, did set saile about three houres after noone, and tooke his course towards Lisbon. Some thought he went to see the channell of *Alcacena*, which is an entry into the Häuen, by which men do commonly passe, which would auoyd the danger of the Tower of *S. Iulian*, because in this counsell (where had beene called many old Pylots Portugals, who were very expert and well acquainted in that sea) it was resolved, that the Fleet and sea forces should enter that way for their more surety: besides that at that time there was water enough for them, by reason of the coniunction of the Moone: and the winde also was very fauourable vnto them. Notwithstanding *Drake*, when it grew towards euening, turned the head of his ship to the Westward, by reason he was aduertised, that there passed by a Fleet of thirty saile of Esterlings: of the which hee tooke 25. or 26. But this hindered the resolution formerly taken, so as it sorted not to that effect which was purposed,

Tower of S.
Iulian.

Drake takerh
the Sea, contrary to the
resolution taken in counsell

sed. And it constrained the Lord Generall *Norris*, the King, and the Earle of *Essex*, to embarke themselves the day following, and to take the Sea, where they met with *Drake* the Friday following.

The embar-
king of the ar-
my for Eng-
land,

I suppose that this short Discourse (which I have here set downe, without specifying of any other the particularities of this expedition) will suffice to satisfie the desire of your Majesties, and to shew the cause, why there was nothing done in Portugall, and that Gods will was not as yet to re-establish her by the meanes of this voyage. And I say moreover, that the principall cause, why so many faults and over-fights were committed, and that nothing was performed or put in execution (according as had been resolved in counsell, was, because this armie was leuied by Merchants, whereas in matters of this kinde, Princes onely ought to employ themselves, and that with a settled and aduised deliberation: in such sort, that there ought not any name of an army to be vsed, but by and from them onely: and they ought to haue more interest therein then any other, and ought to be at the whole and onely costs and charges both of leuying and maintaining of all armed forces. And last of all, to them alone doth belong the choyse and election both of the Heads and Leaders, and of one Generall and chiefe Commander: vnto whom, as to the Soueraigne, all the others should be subiect and obedient. See then the reason why the Lord Generall *Drake* (being named and sent by Merchants who were most ingaged in this voyage) did frame himself to do that which they would, and what came into his owne braine and fancy, rather then that which the other Lord Generall *Norris* did well and wisely aduise and counsell him, who was a man of singular experience, wisdom and vnderstanding, as well in politike gouernment, as in deeds of Armes, and all matters of warfare. For this worthy Lord did strue and labor by all meanes conuenient to haue made a longer abode in Portugall, both in the quarters of Lisbon and elsewhere: but after that the army had

The reason
why so many
faults were
committed in
the English
Armie for
Portugall.

once set saile, the said Lord General *Norris* could not from thence forward, by any entreaties, perswade *Drake* to set foot on land againe in Portugall, and not so much as to take one Citie, where it was wel knowne that there was not any forces, nor any resistance made: neyther was there any meane for the enemye eyther to haue succoured it, or after the taking thereof, to besiege it for one yeere at the least. Besides that, with the same it is most certaine, that they might haue found in Gold, Siluer, Silkes, and Clothes, more then a million of Duckats. Moreouer, the said place might easily haue bene fortified, and by that meanes might haue commanded many other places: and afterwards, money being sent into France, England, Holland, and other parts, they might haue leuied and led thither aboue fiftie thousand souldiers sooner, then the enemye could haue gotten together siue thousand. And this I thinke will suffice for your Maiesties to vnderstand that which you desire in this behalfe.

But now let vs returne to the purpose which wee had in hand. We haue said, that by this one example it may easily be perceiued, how faithfull and loyall the Portugall Nation is to them, vnto whom they do once promise faith and loyalty: and therefore God graunt, that they doe not accord nor vnite themselues to the Castilian, and that neyther your Maiesties, nor the other Princes and Potentates of Europe doe not consent nor permit them to doe it, nor doe giue them occasion to lose the hopes which they yet haue of their libertie. And you ought not to attend or stay vpon the death of *Philip*: for it may be, that the Portugall will more easily accord with the sonne then with the father. And further, as the Monarchie of the Castilian is neyther gouerned nor conserued with the sword, but by good and sage counsaile; so albeit he should die, yet the same counsaile continueth and remaineth still. Besides, for these many yeeres of late, it hath bene gouerned without his presence: and therefore there is little or no hope for any great change or alteration by his death.

Now

Now of what great weight and importance this matter will be. *Don Francisco de Ivara* (the father of *Don Diego de Ivara*, lately Embassadour at Paris during the League) did confesse and make knowne vnto a French Gentleman at Madril, in the yeere 1579. The Gentleman is yet liuing, and can testifie the truth of that which I will now tell you. The said *Francis* demanding of that Gentleman (who was then newly come from Barbarie, where the late King had sent him, for certaine of his affaires) what newes hee brought out of that Countrey? his answer was, That the Moores were in a notable feare, by reason they had intelligence, that the King Catholike did leue a great Armie to passe into Barbarie, to reuenge the death of his Nephew, the King *Don Sebastian*. Whereunto the sayd *Francis* replied, It is not amisse that the Moores should be in feare: but it were more meet, that the King your Maister did vnderstand to what end this Armie is leuyed; for in very deede, it is for Portugall. And if the King Catholike, my Lord, doe make himselfe Maister of that Realme, as hee verily hopeth (for hee holdeth it in a manner as alreadie wrought and practised) hee will bring to passe, that not onely the most Christian King shall be inferior and tributarie vnto him, but also all the other Princes of Europe shall bee subiect vnto him, especially the seuen vnitied Prouinces of the Low Countreyes: and the Pope, with all the Court of Rome, shall doe nothing but what seemeth good vnto him; because, hauing added vnto his Empire the Monarchie of Portugall, who can be able to resist him? For this reason it will concerne the most Christian King, and all other Christian Princes, to ioyne themselues together, as in a common cause, for that otherwise the King my Maister will make himselfe Lord, and the vniuersall Monarch of all the World, whereby they shall be his subiects, and wee shall be his slaues and vassalls perpetually.

The speech of a Spanish nobleman to a French Gentleman.

The most Christian king and all the Princes and Potentates of Europe have great reason to hinder that the Portugals doe not accord with the Castilians, and that they giue them no occasion to lose the hope of their liberte.

This that wee haue here left recited, doth prooue that which was before spoken: and therefore to returne to the matter in hand: I say in the fifth and last place, that whensoever a great and puissant army shall be raised to passe into Spaine, be the charge neuer so great, if it do nothing else then wast and spoile the countrey, and take some few cities and townes, and if in regard thereof the Castilian be enforced to call home his forces (which he holdeth in these partes of Europe for his owne defence, though the comming of those his forces should cause our army to retire, yet I should hold this for a very great benefit; because that which cannot now be done with an hundred, will then be done with ten men, and the charge and expences will bee still lesse and lesse. But it may be, that some of your Maiesties subiects will say vnto me, that this is a matter of great difficultie, and at this time especially very hard to be done: for that hauing the enemy here at hand, euen at our backes, there were small reason for vs to transport our forces into foraine parts. This a good doubt, and may be some trouble to men of a shallow and small vnderstanding, and such as haue little iudgement to discourse vpon the state of matters: but to them which know the depth and ground of things, it will carry no apparance of danger. But to the intent the truth may the better appeare, let vs reason together each with other by way of demanding and answering, as is vsed in the Schooles.

A discourse or reasoning betwene the Author and a Frenchman touching the passing of an Armie into Spaine.

The Subiect. Be it so if you please, for I will heare you with a right good will. *The Pilgrim.* Say then, what is it that you thinke will endamage you? *Subiect.* The enemy with his forces and with his intelligences. *Pilgrim.* But if you finde a mean to disnest him from hence, who then can hurt you afterwards? *Subiect.* Nobody. *Pilgrim.* Doe then as I haue told you, and without doubt the enemy will be gone from you. *Subiect.* That cannot bee. *Pilgrim.* Wherefore? *Subiect.* Wherefore, say you? How would you, that we should goe into a strange and foraine country

countrie to warre vpon others; and leaue our owne countrie in the power and puillance of our enemies? If we send our forces into Spaine (as you would perswade vs) we should be vtterly vndone, as I haue giuen you to vnderstand. *Pil.* Good God, how are you without iudgement and vnderstanding? Take that which I tell you, as I speake it, and not as you conceiue it, and answer me to one question categorically. If there were now an armie raised to goe into Spaine, to the making whereof, let France spare some foure or fve thousand men: England three or foure thousand: the Estates of Holland, Zeland, Freezland, and all the rest of their Allies, two or three thousand, besides ships, of which they haue great store; and let some other Princes, Potentates, and Common-weales, disburse some proportion of money, for the aiding and furthering of this enterprise: & to these adde three or foure thousand Zwitzers or Lance knights: and then tell me shall France bee vnprouided? or shall England be dispeopled? or shall the Estates be vnfurnished of men and shipping, and without meanes to keepe the Seas? or shall the other Princes and common-weales be reduced to such misery, that they shall be vnable to hold their ordinary course in their affaires and proceedings: but rather as they may well spare twice so many men to furnish them to passe into Spaine out of the seuerall Kingdomes, and yet they are sufficient to imploy greater forces into other his dominions in the West, and neuerthelesse powerfully maintaine their owne. *Sub.* No: I think not so. *Pil.* Why then doe you not that which concerneth you so neere, and whereof dependeth the whole and onely remedy of your mischiefe and misery, and wherein you for your part, haue a greater interest then any of the rest. *Sub.* Marry sir: to make vp these thousands of men which you speak of; there must be had great store of mony, which will as hardly be had; as they that haue it, will be loth to depart with it. *Pilg.* O how blind is this people! and how deuoyd of counsell and prudence is this nation! O that they

they would be wise, and that they would vnderstand, and prouide for things to come. Our towne, which the enemy may take to morrow next, doth it not import vs more then 300000. crownes, which is the most that wee shall neede for the furnishing of 4. or 5. thousand men? If after the taking of Laon, and the reducing of so many good townes, there had been employed 200000 crowns, which are demanded for this enterprise, it may bee, you should haue had by this time more then three millions in your purse, and you should not haue lost al these towns in France of so great import; Cambray, Dourlan, Calice, Ardes, Amiens, and many other places, with your great Admirall: and so many braue gentlemen and Captaines which are now dead, would stil haue liued to speake in French. Moreouer, doe not excuse your selfe and say for your discharge, that a man cannot diuine what will follow: for you haue beene too too much forewarned of matters as they haue fallen out, and there is yet liuing a Lord, one of the Councell, who at Fontaine Belleau in May 1595. did by all meanes he could possibly deuise, perswade the vndertaking of this enterprise; alledging so many reasons and so euident, that he plainly shewed, how greatly it did import France to make a voiage into Portugall: but they would not vnderstand, nor so much as giue care vnto him: *Thy destruction is of thy selfe, O Israll.* Is not this true? answer mee.

Sub. I confesse it; there is nothing more true: and at Cambray, Calice, and Amiens wee haue lost so much, as it is a mockery to speake of three millions, for that the moueables of Calice onely were worth more then a million, and those of Amiens much more. And if the enemy should happen to possesse those two places any long time, the game would soone cost vs more then 13. Millions. *Pilg.* Now then; if you confesse thus much, and doe know what the issue and effect of this matter wil be, as you say: why do you not that which concerneth you so much, and is so necessary for you?

Sub. Seeing you doe presse mee so farre, I will tell you with-

without hiding any of our thoughts from you. The cause is, for that we are vnwilling to hazard and set vp the rest of our estates vpon the sayings, and vpon the opinions of a Nation that is passionate and in miserie: but we hold it better, to defend our owne as well as we may, rather then expose all to vtter ruine and destruction: for to what purpose will it be to send 12. or 15. thousand men into Spaine, where there is so great a multitude of people? We cannot beleue that there can come so great good of such a iourney, as you in the beginning of your Treatise would perswade vs: and all the world doth both thinke and speake no lesse, affirming, that it is onely the desire of those (who are tyrannized and in bondage, and doe long to see their countrey deliuered from that tyrannicall seruitude) which doth make all things to seeme and appeare easie to bee done.

Pil. O that it would please God to open the eyes of your vnderstandings, that you might know your selues, and that you might be able to discerne the good from the ill, the sweet from the sower, and the blacke from white. It must needs bee a great grieffe vnto the Phisitions, when they see that their patients are wilfull and obstinate, because in the curing of them, there is neither reason nor counsell which will seeme pleasing or agreeable vnto them. And in very truth, I doe assure you, that I hold it in a manner impossible for any man (be he neuer so sage, or quick & cleere sighted) to perceiue the thousandth part of the grieffe and sorow which I endure to see you (my masters) euen you of France and England so obstinate, as that you will neither conceiue, nor so much as vnderstand, that whereupon your whole fastetie and deliuerance doth depend: that you are so inclined to follow a tracke or by-path, which will throw you downe headlong to a most miserable ruine, out of which there will be no recouerie. But seeing I have gained so little in speaking to you in particular, and that euery man doth talke of these matters in publike, I will now therefore turne my speech to the whole world.

First,

To gaine any
thing there
mukt be much
hazarded.

First, I say, that it is very hard and difficult to put in execution any matter of great waight and importance, without indangering of some things of like kinde and nature; and a man cannot gaine or purchase any thing without some great hazard and aduventure. If Marchants should not aduventure their goods vpon the Seas, and commit them to the mercy of tempests and pyrats, or enemies, they would not make such great gaine and commoditie as we see them to do dayly: neither should Kings or Princes haue need of so many officers, or of so many customers: and the excessive profit which men make both for themselves, as well as for their countrey would soone cease: neither would they so prodigally spend & bestow their goods & their liues, in running into so many dangers for the discouering of Lands so farre scattered and remoued from them. If all this be done for the gaining of 10, 15, or 20, for 100, how much more ought you to doe it to redeeme and deliuer your selues from so great trouble and calamitie, and from so many dangers which doe threaten and menace you? And if you cast your your account well, you shall finde that you gaine more then 100 for one. Thus much concerning the first point of your speech. And whereas you spake of people passionate and in misery: I cannot forget it, but I must and will answer you to that point also. O how it would reioyce me, if you would vnderstand, that this is but the malice of the deuill and his followers, to make men beleue, that that which is told them (howsoeuer it be founded vpon truth and reason, and those aduertisements which are given them for their good and benefit (and which were needfull for them to receiue and imbrace) do proceed onely of passion: to the intent he may by meanes hereof hinder and withdraw them from all good actions, and bring them to vtter ruine and destruction.

The condicion
of the assailant
farre differeth
from that of
the defendant.

Secondly, it is most certaine, that the condition and estate of them which are defendants, is much more miserable then that of the assailants, because for to defend themselves they shall

shall need greater store of men and forces, then to assaile their enemies. The reason: for that those which stand vpon their defence, doe not know vpon what side the enemy will assault them: and they which do assaile, do well know where the enemy holdeth his principall force and strength for his defence. For example; suppose that the enemy put within *Amiens* 100 horse onely, and foure or 5000, foot: now for you to defend your selfe from them, it will be needfull that you doe place good and strong garrisons in *Abbeville, Ecu, Diep, Roan, Gisors, Gournay, Pontoise, Beaumont, Senlis, Compeigne, Han, S. Quintin, Peronne, Corbie, Bologne, Montreil, S. Esperit de Ru Beauuoy, Clermont,* and many other places, if you would not see your selfe ruined: but assaile your enemy, and then shall you haue the aduantage. March therefore into Spaine, into Flanders, or other his dominions that may be nominated, and you shall haue peace at your pleasure, otherwise you shall haue it with shame and dishonour, and you will in the end repent you, that euer you spake of peace. If you stand here at home vpon your owne defence, you seeke your own ruine and perdition: if you goe thither to assaile him, you shall ruinate and destroy him. Let the multitude of examples which are euery where in all histories learne you to bee wise; consider well I beseech you that which *Scipio* (one of the most peudent and greatest Captaines of the world) said vnto the Romanes: who had lost three great battailes against *Hanniball*: There is great difference and ods (said he) betweene spoyling and preying vpon the countrey of the enemy, and to see our owne flaming with fire, and spoiled and ransackt by our enemies. Moreouer, he which assaulteth is more couragious then hee which is put to his defence: adde hereunto, that the feare and astonishment is much the more and greater, where it is not foreseene and preuented. Now as soone as a man entreth within the enemies countrey, he shall soone take knowledge both of the good and euill that may befall him therein, & he shal quickly discover the commodities or the discommodities of the

That it is necessary to passe with an army into Spaine.

Scipio.

The Romans.
Hannibals
Speech of
Scipio,

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Liu, Dec. 4.
lib. 7.
Saying of P.
Sulpitius to
the Romans.

Idem, Decad.
4. lib. 4.

Herodorus.

Halicar, lib. 1.

country. Remember well that which *P. Sulpitius* saide vnto the Romans, and take it to your selues, as if he had spoken it vnto you, to wit: That they had had good experience by that which was past, how their warres were alwaies more happy and fortunate, and their armies much more puissant in the countrey of the enemy, then in their owne. Harken to the counsell which *Hanniball* gaue vnto *Antiochus*, and make your profit thereof better then he did: Assure your selfe that the countrey of the enemy will yeeld you souldiers, who desire their libertie: and will furnish you with victualls, and all commodities for your armie. Let the faults and ouersights of others make you wise: doe as *Cyrus* did, who cast himselfe away by contemning the counsell of *Crasus*, and by not making any recknoring of *Tomyris* his enemy. Take heede that you doe not incurr more blame in this behalfe then all others, and it may bee more deseruedly; because you haue euer, and doe daily, vse too too much to contemne, and not to regard your enemy. Certainly, this is the first and principall cause of the ruine of all estates, when they contemne and set not by their enemies: and when they will not hearken to any thing that shall bee alledged to the contrary. For the question is not now of entring into a forraigne countrey, to subdue and conquer it, or to get to bee Lord and Master of it: but onely to restore vnto libertie so many peoples and nations, who doe crie and call for aide vnder the yoke and burthen of this tyranny: and to deliuer your owne subiects from the armes of the enemy, who hath gotten footing in the best and goodliest prouince of your realmes and kingdomes. If you doe not as I aduise you, I feare me, least to morrow they will take yet some other of your townes, and the next day another, and so afterwards at one blow will seize vpon all the rest. Take heed therefore to that which I tel you: I would not haue you for the assailing of your enemy, to leaue your selues vndefended; but that in doing of one thing, you do not let passe another:

ther: because 4 or 5. thousand men which you men of Guyen, Languedock, Dauphine, and other prouinces, will not bring you to any such want of men, but that you may haue meanes enough to defend your selues both in Picardie and elsewhere.

Thirdly, to depriue a king from his Crowne and scepter, and to disposselle him of his realmes and dominions, when he is a tirant, cruell, or of a wicked, licentious and lewd life, there needeth no great forces.

Two things do soone depriue a Prince of his crowne and scepter: crueltie, and licentious living.

Two thousand men which *Charles* the 8. King of France gaue vnto *Henrie* Earle of Richmond his cousine german remoued (for he was the grand child of *Katherine* sister of *Charles* the 7. his grandfather, who had to her first husband *Henrie* the fifth king of England) were sufficient for the said Earle passing ouer into England to gather together men enough to bid battel to *Richard* the third: in the which *Richard* was defeated and slaine most shamefully, by reason of hir crueltie and tyrannie.

The cronicles of England.

Peter king of Castile the sonne of *Alphonse* the *Iusticier*, for his tyrannie and many cruelties which hee committed, got the surname of cruell, and was for the same cause slaine by his brother *Henrie* the bastard.

The histories of Spaine.

The crueltie which *Christierne* (the second of that name, brother in law to *Charles* the fifth) vsed towards the principall and chiefe Nobles of Swethland, made him lose the said Realme, and consequently also the kingdomes of Denmarke and Norwaie, which he was rightfull king and Soueraigne.

Many histories.

The kingdome of Spaine was taken from the King *Roderike*, a most loose and licentious Prince, onely by twelue thousand Moores, whom the Earle *Iulian*, Captaine of the towne of Septa, procured from *Ulis* king of Barbarie: who in the yeare 713. passing into Spaine in Marchants ships, had for their Chiefe and Generall *Tarif Aben Zarca*, who being blind of one eye, gaue the name vnto the Towne of *Tarifa*, which was before called *Car-*

The common historie of Spaine.

reya: and hauing destroyed the Towne of Seuill, did take and ruinate many others, both in the Prouince of Bætica, and in Portugall, and did ouerthrow in set battell a coufin of the sayd king *Roderike*, which *Roderike* himselfe afterwards assembling his forces vpon the riuer of Guadelethe on the seuenth of Iuly (or according to others) on the seuenth of September, in the yeare 724. did giue battell vnto the Moores: in the which hee was ouercome and vanquished, and immediatly after he lost almost all Spaine. The wicked life of this king was the onely cause of this losse, and of the ruine of that kingdome, and especially because he had dishonoured *Cana* the daughter of the sayd Earle *Julian*, who vpon this occasion finding himselfe grievously outraged, gaue free entry vnto the Moores by that towne of *Septa*, which is (as it were) the key of Affrike and Europe. Besides, he did serue for a guide vnto them in that their inuasion. At which time the said Mores had very good and happy successe in their affaires in Spaine, by reason that they found the people not vsed nor accustomed to the warres, as they are not now at this day likewise.

Antiochus the Great, for his dissolute & disordinate life, at such time as he should haue set Greece at libertie, and haue made warre vpon the Romaines, for the assurance & security of his owne Empire, was reduced to such termes, that he saw himselfe constrained in the end to accept peace of them, vpon such conditons as pleased them. And retiring himselfe out of Europe and Asia, he was glad to withdraw himselfe into a corner, as their vassall and tributary.

The Annalls
of France.

Childericke for his voluptuous liuing, and for seeking nothing but for his owne pleasures, lost the Crowne and kingdome of France. By all which examples, sufficing as well as 6000. moe, may be seene how little strength and small forces there doe need to trouble and ruinate the enemy in in Spaine, which hath not at any time induced, nor had any Prince so tyrannous and cruell, nor of such wicked and licentious liuing.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, touching your incredulitie, and the opinion which you haue, that the loue of a mans countrey doth easily deceiue them, and make the remedie of their miseries and seruitude to seeme easie; surely wee may with good reason call this incredulitie a blind inueiglement, and darknesse of vnderstanding: and therefore I come once againe to say as I haue sayd, and I doe againe and againe aduise you, That to send a good and well conducted Armie into Spaine, or other parts of his Dominions, will be the onely meane to resist and withstand the enemy, to breake the course of his designs, to beat downe his pride, and to destroy his puissance. And albeit that this may well be granted to follow, by that which hath bene aboue spoken, yet I will proue it by one other example onely; which being most true, maketh very much to our intended purpose.

Henry, Count of Trastamara, the bastard sonne of *Alphonfus* the Iusticier, by the aide of the French had slaine the King *Don Pedro*, his lawfull brother. Of this *Peter* there remayned two daughters: The youngest, *Isabel*, espoused *Edmond de Langley*, the fifth sonne of *Edward* the third, King of England. This *Edmond* hauing gotten sundry victories in fauour of the Portugals (who accompanied him against the Castilians in Spaine) did manage those affaires with such prudence and wisdom, that he constrained the sayd *Henry*, King of Castile, to accept and receiue of *Fernand*, King of Portugall (who was in a manner brought to vtter destruction, both he and his whole Realme) such conditions of peace as were most ignominious and dishonourable, and very preiudiciall both to himselfe, his vassalls, and subiects. In regard of which his notable deedes and deserts, the said *Edmond* was afterwards made Duke of Yorke by *Richard* the second, King of England, his Nephew, the sonne of *Edward* the Blacke Prince, his eldest brother, in a Parliament holden at Westminster in the yere of Christ, 1386. Of these two, *Edmond* and *Isabell*, descended the Queene of England, likewise named *Isabell*. The

The Histories
of Castile,
Portugall,
England, &c.

other daughter, being the eldest of King *Peter*, and called *Constance*, espoused *John* of Gaunt, the fourth brother of the sayd *Edmond* both by father and mother, and Duke of Lancaster by his first wife *Blanche*, who had by him *Henry* the fourth, afterwards King of England; and two daughters, of which the eldest, *Philip*, was Queene of Portugall, the wife of *Ivan* the Bastard. Of *John* of Gaunt, and *Constance*, was borne one onely daughter, called *Katherine*, of whom we shall hereafter make further mention. The said *John* of Gaunt, in regard of his wife *Constance*, did entitle himselfe King of Castile and Leon: and for the obtayning of his right to that Kingdome, hee passed from Gascoigne (which was then vnder the Dominion of the English) into Spaine with eightene thousand footmen, and two thousand horse; where, with the aide of the Portugals, who were his good friends, he tooke the Groigne. From thence he went into Portugal, out of which he entred into Castile, marching euen to the Citie of Burgos, which was distant from the place of his departure more then a hundred and twentie Leagues. And from the time of his first arriual, he tooke and made himselfe Lord of all the Cities, Townes, and Castles, which hee found in his way: besides, such as being farther off, did come to render and yeeld themselves for very feare and terror. And he might easily haue passed on much further, if his people had not died, who by reason of their disorder which they kept, and by their ill rule and demeaning of themselves, were oppressed with extreame famine, whereof ensued this plague and pestilence amongst them. And they were reduced to such necessitie of Victuals, that they were constrained to haue recourse euen to the Campe of their enemies (where then was in fauour of the King, *John* of Castile, *Lewes* Duke of Burbon, accompanied with the French forces) of whom they demaunded reliefe, for the sustentation of their poore and wretched liues. The which being perceiued by *John* the Bastard, then elected King of Portugall, he complayned to the Duke of Lan-

Guaribay, lib.
15. cap. 25.

The entry and
invasion of the
English, with
the Portugals,
into Castile.

The amitie of
the French and
English out of
their owne
Courtreyes.

Lan-

Lancaster, telling him, that he held it not good, nor convenient, that his souldiers should goe to entreat with the enemy, affirming, that these might more endamage him then the others: and that therefore he should immediately recall them, and forbid them to haue any communication, conference, or parley with any of the contrary party; otherwise, that hee would fight against them altogether, and would cause them all to be put to the sword, the one for the loue of the other. *Thomas Walsingham*, an English Historiographer, doth set it dōwne in these very words; and he sayth, that the King of Portugall had then with him foure thousand Portugals, well armed.

The valour of John, the Bastard King of Portugall. Thomas Walsingham.

Some haue esteemed the saying of this Historiographer as very ridiculous, or as a meere Brauado onely; but they are much deceiued: for these foure thousand Portugals, hauing their King for their Chiefetaine and Leader, had beene sufficient to defeat twentie thousand Castillians.

The valour of the Portugals,

The same King with five thousand, and so many Portugals, and a hundred and fiftie Englishmen, did defeat the said *John*, King of Castile (both of them being present in person in the battaile of Aljibarot) and put him to flight, hauing with him foure and thirtie thousand fighting men; of the which died vpon the place twelue thousand: and there were of prisoners, ten thousand taken by foure thousand, and so many Portugals, and a thousand Englishmen, who remained masters of the field: for there died in the fight about a thousand Portugals, and five hundred English, who fought as if they had beene Lyons.

An Historie worthie the marking.

About the same time, *Don Nunalures Pereira*, Constable of Portugall, with three thousand footmen and a thousand horse, defeated five and twentie thousand Castillians, and slew and tooke the principall and chiefe men of Castile.

This Historie is well worthie the marking, & the batrell was called the batrel of Valverde

The same King, before that he came to reigne, and afterwards, had many victories vpon his enemies, no lesse admirable then that other; insomuch, that a certaine Nobleman of Castile being in speech one day, and deuising with his

his King (which was the said *John*) he sayd vnto him: Sir, I cannot conceiue the cause why the King of Portugall, with so few men, hath so often vanquished you, seeing that you haue alwayes had fīue or six against one of them. The King answered him: The cause is, for that the King of Portugall doth fight against me, being accompanied with his children, and I combat against him, being accompanied with my subiects; I am King and Lord of Castile, and hee is King and Lord of the Portugals. Euen so did the valiant *Alphonſus Henriques*, the first King of Portugall, begin to entitle himſelfe King and Lord of the Portugals.

An honorable
testimonie of
the loyaltie of
the Portugals.

This valour of the Portugals was not then at that time onely, but it hath still continued euen to this day: for wee our selues haue seene, in the yeere 1580, how the King *Don Anthonio*, with lesse then fīue thousand footmen, Portugals, being but euen nouices in Armes, and young souldiers, did defend himſelfe for many dayes against more then twentie thousand old souldiers of the Duke de *Alua*.

In the yeere following, on the fīue and twentieth of Iuly, being S. *James* his day, *Scipio de Figueiredo de Vasconcelles*, a Gentleman whose valour and fidelitie is well knowne, and of whom there is often mention made in Histories, being Gouvernour of the Iles of *Allores*, hee defended himſelfe in plaine field with lesse then foure hundred Portugals against more then a thousand Castillians, whom *Don Petro de Valdes* had made to take land in the Ile of *Terceras*, neere to the citie of *Angra*. The Portugals were no souldiers, but mechanickall persons, handycratts men, and labourers, and amongst them, there were not ten Gentlemen; for the Gouverneur had left them in the Towne, for the defence and government thereof. The Castillians were old souldiers, amongst whom (as is reported) there were two hundred men who had beene Commanders in Armies of Castile, and they fought from foure houres after morning, till foure of the night: at which time they caused a great quantitie of Kine to be driuen downe from the Mountaines, with

with the which they brake the rankes and order of the Castilians, to the intent they might come to handy-strokes with them: and by this stratageme comming to the sword, they ouerthrew them. Some of the said Castilians saued themselves by swimming, many were drowned, and there were buried by iust account, 875. Of the Portugals were slaine by the hand of their enemies, fiftene; and by the fall of a wall, sixe; and some hurt. The famous *Conestagio* doth recount this Historie otherwise, but falsely; howbeit, that hee confesseth, that there were slaine sixe hundred Castilians, and thirtie Portugals. But I haue heard what passed in this encounter, of many Gentlemen Spaniards, my countrey-men, who were present at it, and especially of one that was borne in Valentia, named *Don Gasser*, who saued himselfe by Sea, being fore hurt; and of a Drumme, that was a Castilian; and of a Portugall, borne in Villa Vicosa: the which two onely had their liues saued, being found vpon the Sea-shore, after the heat of the fight was past. There died one of the nephewes of the Duke de *Alua*, and one of the nephewes of the Marquesse de *Santa Cruce*, and a nephew of the aboue-named *Don Pedro de Valdes*, and that renowned *Philip Hartada*, an Arragonnois, and seuentie more, of such as were the eldest brethren of sundry good Houses; of whom, a good part were neere neighbours to Salamanca. To be brieue, there died all the flower of Castile: for that they seeing how Portugall was yeilded vnto them so easily, and hauing heard that the Isles were very rich, and that the East Indie Fleet was like to fall into their hands, and being allured with the late sacke of the suburbes of Lisbon, which was valued at three Millions; they had embarked themselves for this seruice as cheerefully, as if they had beene going to a Wedding. This is a thing well knowne, that foure or fve young Portugals, from betweene eightene and twentie yeeres of age, did at Lisbon, with their Swords and Cloakes onely, make no account of a dozen of Castilians. By these reasons men

A good stratageme.

A notable historie of the Portugals vpon the Castilians.
Conestagio 2. fol. 234. pag. 1.

may vnderstand, that that which *Walsingham* sayth, is not a ridiculous thing, much lesse a Brauado. But returne wee to that wee had in hand.

The Castilian
demandeth
peace of the
Duke of Lan-
caster in all
humilitie.

The Castilian
constrained to
receiue condi-
tions to his
disadvantage.

Within a few dayes after, there came certaine Embassadours to the Duke of Lancaster, sent from the King of Castile, who in all humilitie did demandaunt to haue peace; but the Duke would not hearken vnto them. Notwithstanding, hunger and the pestilence constraining him to retyre into Portugall, to the Towne of Trancoso, they came againe to seeke him out, being sent thither vnto him the second time by the said *John*, King of Castile, with their former request; shewing vnto the Duke by many good reasons and arguments, the great profit which would ensue of a good peace made betweene them. Thereupon did the Duke giue them audience, and in the end did accord to their demand, howbeit that it was full sore against his will: First, because he was giuen to vnderstand, that the King of Portugall was willing to haue it so: And secondly (which in effect was the thing that did most vrgē him) because he was aduertised, that the troubles and warres began afresh betweene the French and the English, and that there were certaine Seditions growne in England, by reason whereof hee should not be able to haue any fresh succours from thence, whereof it seemed he had then great want; and the mortalitie which was in his Armie did now threaten him, that hee should haue need of a further supply. The accord therefore was made betweene the King and the Duke in this sort: That *Henry*, the eldest sonne of *John*, named Prince of Castile, should espouse *Katherine*, the onely daughter of the said Duke, and of *Constance* his wife; and that they two should succeed in the Realmes of Castile and Leon, and other his Seignories: That the King should endow both the Mother and the Daughter (as he did) giuing to the Mother the Citie of Guadalaiaara, Medina del Campo, and Ouiedo; and afterwards, being with her in the said Towne of Medina, he gaue her Hueta also: and to the daughter

ter for her Dowrie, hee gaue the Esturies, making and naming her Princeesse, and his sonne Prince of Esturie. And from that time forward, the eldest sonne of the Castilian King hath alwayes borne and had the surname of this Principallitie, as of Dauphine in France the Dolphin. Besides it was couenanted, That he should giue vnto the Duke sixe hundred thousand Franks of Gold, for his returne into England, and fortie thousand Franks of yeerely rent, during the liues of him and his wife. *John* of Castile accepted all these conditions, and that very gladly: for albeit he had France, and the Frenchmen also on his side, and the King of Arragon likewise (with whose sister hee had beene married, of whom was borne the said Prince *Don Henry* and *Fernand*, who was afterward king of Arragon, against all right and equitie, and to the preiudice of the true and lawfull heires:) and had also *Charles* the third king of Nauarre to his friend: yet he knew neuerthelesse that hauing ciuill warres in his owne Realme, and Portugall his enemy: hee should hazard the fortune of all his estates and dominions, of such power was the Realme of Portugall against all the rest of Spaine. This is most certaine and assured, that at all times and as often as Portugall shall haue the ayd and fauour of France or of England, or of any other strange Prince whatsoever, she will soone constrain the king of Castile (to whom it is as a bridle) to yeeld a reason, and to submit himselfe to the yoke, and to receiue such conditions as shall bee both dishonourable and preiudiciall. And those of the Duke had beene much more to his profit and aduantage in this accord, if the king of Portugall had been willing thereunto: because he hauing the sword in his owne hand, hee might haue made partition of the countrey at his owne will and pleasure: he was the iudge, and did what seemed good in his owne sight. Hee that hath the sword may deuide the lands as he listeth. Theroof it came to passe, that the Duke departed not very well contented with the King, notwithstanding that he had giuen him in marriage *Philip* his eldest daughter.

All Spaine with the successors of France against Portugall, which gained notwithstanding.

The paissance of Portugall,

Plutarch in Apothege.

An exhortati-
on to the
French King,
&c.

Oh that it would please your Maiesties to consider well this that I tell you, and to the which I would willingly perswade both your Highnesses, and other the Princes and Potentates of Europe, and that you would once know your owne puissance; and being assisted by your neighbours, with their Shipping, Gallions, and hardie Mariners, with their Artillerie, Munitions, and other furniture for the Warres, and of which they haue great abundance; besides the ready forwardnesse and willingdenice which they haue to accompanie you, as hath beene most apparant for these many yeeres: you shall finde, that you alone haue men enough, and forces sufficient, to make your selues the Iudge and Arbitrator of these Affaires: and holding the Sword fast and firmly in your hands, it will be in your powers to make partition of the Realmes and Prouinces of Spaine; and you shall be able, not onely to take backe vnto your selues that which is belonging and appertaining vnto you, but you shall make them to render vnto euery man his owne. What greater honour? What greater felicitie can there be? Defend (Princes) your right, which for so many Ages you haue inherited from your predecessors. There wanteth not euen at this day in your Realme of England, neyther Champions of Saint George, nor other late Captaines, such as Noble *Essex*, *Drake*, *Candish*, *Forbisher*, *Hawkins*, *Norris*, *Williams*. Likewise in the Realme of France, who neyther wanteth *Martelles*, nor *Pepins*, nor *Rowlands*, nor *Oliuers*, nor *Renaulds*. In stead of the twelue Peeres of France, you are enriched with more then twelue hundred of the like. Your neighbors for one *Richard*, will furnish you with an hundreth; and their Allyes will fit you with an *Ogier*, so fully adorned with all perfections, and so expert and well practised in the Art Militarie, and so followed with good and valiant souldiers, that the Constables of Castile, the Counties *de Fuentes*, and the *Verdugo's*, with all the residue of their companions, shall haue no oddes, nor advantage of them.

This

This is the right and direct way: this is the most certaine and most assured meane to haue a good and happy peace: euen by the strength of your owne armes, without the vse and employment of any supporters. You shall giue lawes vnto the enemy, according to your owne will & desires: you shall force him to accept of such conditions as shall be profitable and commodious, not onely to you and your owne realmes, but to your friends and allies also. What can the enemy doe, if you should passe into Spaine with an armie well furnished of all necessities? and being led and conducted by some Prince which may bee chosen and named by your Maiesties for chiefe and Generall of the same, such a one as shall bee descended of some great and ancient house, and of noble bloud: and accompanied and adorned with such graces and rare gifts, as may easily draw others without any difficultie or grudging, to submit themselves to his comand; and one that shall bee able to gouerne with great prudence and wisdom? without doubt the enemy would hold himselfe vtterly forsorne and vndone, (as indeed he should be no lesse) and hee would esteeme himselfe happy and well apaid, if we would suffer him to remaine Lord of Castile: he would restore vnto your Maiesties the realme of Nuanarre and surplus of that which he and his predecessors haue vsurped vpon France: vnto the most excellent Duke of Loraine, he would restore the Realmes of Naples, Sicily, Arragon, Valentia, and Catolonia, and such other signiories as are dependants of the same: and the Realme of Portugall, to whom of right it appertaineth. And he would be brought to doe reason vnto the house of the Duke de Nevers, of the Duchie of Brabant, of Limbourg, or Lothier, and of the towne of Antwerpe. Likewise it would constrain him to restore the Palatinate and Zwitterland.

The qualitie
of a good Ge-
nerall.

If you should demand of mee, on what side it were most fit and commodious, and conuenient to enter into Spaine: I say, that if you would enter by Nauarre, (whereof his

Christian Maieftie, is the naturall and lawfull king) you should euen at this day there finde the grand children of them which haue lost their liues and their goods for the seruice of his ancesters, and many others likewise who doe loue and desire him, as their rightfull king and Lord, and will incurre all worldly hazards and dangers for him, especially he being turned true and perfect Catholike.

If by Arragon, the wounds thereof are yet so fresh, that the bloud thereof doth yet, euen now seem new to abound. If by Portugall, the sores are yet open in the quicke flesh, and remaine altogether vnhealed, and that with such grieve and dolour, that euen those verie hands which should offer to touch them (though it were to remedie them) would make them to quake and tremble: for,

Horrent admosas vulnera cruda manus.

And as it is a verie difficult and hard matter for a sicke man, being in captiuitie and seruitude, to recouer his health: so it is impossible for any man (though he should liue a hundred yeeres (to seee those two nations, the Portugall and Castilian, to agree and loue together: notwithstanding the king of Castile doth at this day entreat the Portugals (in comparison of his ordinarie and naturall crueltie) with some gentleness, and doth maintaine them in their priuiledges and liberties. For prooffe whereof, leaning an infinite number of reasons that might be alledged, one onely shall suffice; and that is, because the Castilians are extreme proud and arrogant, the Portugals too too impatient, when their honour is any way touched or in question, for then they will sooner grow to blowes then to words.

The Castilian
proud and ar-
rogant,
The Portugall
impatient.

The French Translatour

This is a thing most certaine and assured, and the Portugals do so regard their honour, and they are so ambitious of
the

the same, and it is so recommended unto them from the father to the sonne: that if they should lose but one ior thereof, they would grow stark mad, as men that had lost all sense and understanding. Fernand de Magellan a Gentleman of Portugall, upon an opinion that his King had done him much wrong, did conceive such a despight thereof, that he fled from Portugall, and retired himselfe to the King of Castile, purposing to discover unto him the enterprize of Peru. Now see the folly, or rather madnesse of the man; his discontentment proceeded of no other matter but of this: for that the King had denied to give him a pension onely of halfe a Duckat monethly for his sonne: for the custome of Portugall is, that all the Gentlemen shall take a pension (which they call *Moradia*) of the King, according to the degrees and qualities of their Nobilities, (which they doe properly call *Fuero*;) and they are to bee enrolled in the bookes of the Kings house, which they call the Booke of the Kitchen, or the Booke of *Matriculation*. The qualitie of Magellan was to bee one of the Knights of *Hidalgo* (that is to say) *Feal*, or one that doth *Fealtie*: his pension was every moneth three Duckats: and hee had a petition to the king, that his sonne might be admitted into the same qualitie as himselfe was, and that he might have the like pension. Of these demands the King granted the one, and refused the other: for he accepted his sonne for one of his Knights *Feal*: but hee would not give any more then two Duckats and a halfe for his pension, observing therein the custome of his predecessors, who did not use to give to the children so great a pension as to the fathers, save onely when by the death of their parents they came to succede them in their inheritance. And for as much as in Portugall the manner is, that the Nobles have their place and precedence according to the degree and qualitie of their Nobilitie: and they which are of one like degree and qualitie, doe take their place each of other according to the quantitie of the pension, more or lesse, which they receive. Magellan did take in so small part this refusall of the King, made unto

Fernand Magellan his great impatience and folly.

The reason why Magellan did discover the enterprize of Peru to the King of Castile

his

his sonne of halfe this duckat, onely because by meanes hereof he should lose his precedence, that he became most foolishly enraged, as a man that had lost all sense and understanding: and to shew the extreme grieve and sorrow which he tooke for the losse of so small an honour, he purchased to himselfe the name and estimation of a Traitor, and for such a one doe all histories recount him: because he did not performe that dutie and deuero to his king which he ought him, but did giue it vnto a stranger: and he was the occasion that things came to that passe, that the two realmes of Portugall and Castile, were vpon the point to haue fallen at variance each with other. So that it was the extreme and ambitious desire of honour which made Magellan thus mad, and will worke the like effect with all true Portugals: and it was not the desire of getting a little peece of money, as some haue taken it, and haue not been ashamed to set downe as much in writing, for the matter and subject incident hereunto doe shew the contrary. I speake not this without cause, for that S. Goulart de Senlis in his translation imprinted at Paris by N. Bonfons in the yeare 1587. and in the three and twentieth Discourse, doth affirme as much. The words of Oforius touching this matter, are these: Notwithstanding the Portugals, for that they are vmeasurably desirous of honour, and doe thinke that their Nobilitie is greatly increased and augmented by the adding of a little money vnto their lining: that they do oftentimes imagine, and are perswaded, that they ought stoutly to fight and contend for such a small summe of money, as if their whole safetie, reputation and dignitie did depend thereupon.

This being so: you will say perhaps, that it is greatly to be wondred at, how the Castilians should then bee able so easilie to subdue and conquer the realme of Portugall as they haue done, the same being so great and so puissant a Monarchie. Hereunto I answer: that it would be a long and tedious matter to recount all the reasons thereof: and in verie truth it so happened, rather for want of resolution, then for any defect of colour or courage: for the Castilians

Hier. Oforius
of the deeds of
Emanuel king
of Portugall
lib. 11.

are not better souldiers then the Portugals, as we haue before shewed: and it did well appeare, how about five thousand foot, and some thousand horse did defend themselves for the space of foure moneths and twenty dayes, against more then twentie thousand old souldiers vnder the Duke de Alua, the others being but new souldiers, and plaine country peasants: and if there had not beene such abundance and store of treasons, it may bee that the Duke himselfe had found but bad entertainment, and woulde haue passed any further. But Portugall was altogether vnprovided of Chieftains and leaders: all of them being lately slaine in Africa with their king, as *Conestagio* in the end of his first booke doth sufficiently set downe vnto vs, where he hath these words; *Sebastian went into Africke, leaving his realme quite and cleane without mony, without any of the Nobilitie, without any to succeed or inherit it, and in the hands of such Governours as were but badly affected towards him.*

The reasons why the Castilians took Portugall so easily.

Conestagio. li. 1. fol. 49. pa. 2.

The Translatour.

In this battell died the Duke de Aveyro, great grandchild of Don Iuan the second king of Portugall, two Princes his consine germanes, one of the sonnes of Theodosius Duke of Bragancia, and one other that was heire to the Marquisat of Ferrara, and foure Counties, as it is reported in the life of the King Don Sebastian by a Jew, named Duard Nonnes de Leon, who, contrary to the lawes of Portugall, which excludeth all Iewes, and such as are descended of the Iewish nation, from all honors & dignities, yet was made of the Councel of the realme of Portugall by the King Catholike, who preferred him to that honour, onely in recompence of a Booke which hee made, called the Booke of Censures; and is not onely most infamous but full of hereticall vnadvised propositions: it was written against Frier Ioseph Texere, a Portugall, of the order of the Friers Preachers; who is at this day a personage greatly

Duard Nonnes de Leon, a Jew his booke of Censures, &c.

Frier Ioseph
Texera a Por-
tugall his com-
mendation.

renowned in all Europe, and knowne of all the Princes of Chri-
stendome both Ecclesiasticall and secular; and especially in
France, where the chiefe and greatest persons of the realme;
and all men of honour doe love and gladly entertaine him, for
his honest-conversation, faire conditions, and singular doctrine:
he being a man the most accomplished in the knowledge of histo-
ries, and in the genealogies of great personages, of any living
at this day: as his Workes and ordinarie communication doe
sufficiently testifie. I doe much wonder at the patience of this
religious man, who being so exquisitely seene and practised in
histories, so expert in matters of State, and so iealous of his
honour, as we know him to be, that he doth not set hand to his
pen, and write, not onely against the errours and untruthes
of this Jew, but euen against the Catholike Maiestie also: see-
ing it was his Maiestie that caused this false and infamous
booke of Censures (whereof we speake) to be made against him:
and he did know the same by his priviledge given therunto in
the yeare 1590. permitting the sayd Jew to imprint the sayd
booke (intreating of the Genealogie of the Kings of Portugall)
after he had translated it into the Castilian tongue, out of ano-
ther which he had formerly made in Latine by the commande-
ment of the sayd King Catholike: in the which booke the Jew
did of set purpose, forget to name and set downe, amongst them
that died, Don Emanuel de Meneses, otherwise de Almada,
Bishop of Coimbre, and another Bishop Don Aires de Silua,
Bishop of the Citie of Port, and counsellor german to the Rege-
dour of Portugall (which is a dignitie representing through-
out all that Kingdome the person of the King, in all causes of
Iustice, both civill and criminall) both which Bishops were is-
sued of the royall House of Portugall: so were also the Baron
of Portugall, and the Countie de Prado with his eldest soune,
besides some other Lords and Princes, neere kinsmen unto the
Kings of Spaine.

The residue of them which remained vnslaine in Barba-
rie, the Castilian with gifts and faire promises had so cor-
rupted, that they desired nothing more then to deliuer

vp the Realme vnto him. The Knights of the Launce (which are those whom we in France call Esquiers, and in whom consisteth the greatest force of Portugall,) did in a manner stand still looking on, not hauing any other commandement; which was long of the negligence of the King *Anthonio* and his Councell, who did alwayes shew themselves very vnresolute and inconstant in the administration of their affaires: by meanes whereof the Realme of Portugall is fallen into this so piteous and miserable estate, not knowing how to recover her former liberty: there was none that had any faithfull affection or desire to oppose themselves against the enemy, saue onely the Ecclesiasticall and Regular persons, and some few of the nobility. And though the people (who were both without experience, and without armes) were likewise of the same affection, yet had the Castilian by his policy and fraudulent deuices drawne them into his power, by giuing out a false bruit and report, that the Souldiers which did then leuy and assemble in Castile, were onely to passe into Affricke against the Infidels, for to reuenge the death of his Nephew *Don Sebastian*: which notwithstanding were in very deed for Portugall, as the successe did make manifest: for hee began to make those his preparations for that attempt as soone as the King *Don Sebastian* did beginne to make prouision for his voyage; to whom he hauing promised fise thousand Souldiers and fifty Gallies, when it came to the issue that hee should haue had them, he vtterly refused to giue him any, to the intent he might the sooner attaine to that hee desired. And besides, falling to an accord and agreement with *Muley Maluco*, hee promised in the treaty made with him, that he would abandon the poore King of Portugall: and to that effect did the Moyle promise him certaine Townes in Barbary, which he had before offered to the said *Sebastian*: vpon condition hee should not giue any aide or succours to *Mahomet Keriffe*. But that

The chiefe force of Portugall wherein it consisteth.

The negligence of the King *Don Anthonio* and his counsell.

Conestagiol.
1. fol. 18. pa. 8.

The Castilian King accorderth with an infidel

King of Portugal Prince

The Infidelity
of the Castil-
lian King.

Conestagio
lib. 2. fol. 34.
pag. 1.

Prince would not accept them, saying, that hee had passed his word to the said Xeriffe to helpe him. Surely Sebastian was more true of his promise then his Vncle Philip, who to compasse his affaires the better, and to get that into his hands, which he had of a long time most ardently desired, did assure his owne doings by the breach of his conscience, his faith, and his promise, in refusing to giue those succours, which hee had promised vnto Sebastian: and more then that, in commanding by a publike Edi& or Proclamation, that none of his Subiects should follow him, nor serue vnder him in that voyage. And this doth Conestagio giue vs evidently to vnderstand in his second Booke, where hee saith: *At that time there arrived in the Campe the Capitaine Francisco de Aldana, who had promised the King Sebastian to serue him in that iourney: where that effect had gotten leaue and licence of the King Catholike, which no other could obtaine of him.*

The Translator.

Idem lib. 1.
fol. 14. pag. 2.

Conestagio writeth, that Philip meeting with Sebastian at our Lady de Guadalupe, did not dissuade him from the enterprise of Barbary, but onely that hee should not goe thither in person: for Philip knowing the generosity of this young Prince, saw very well, that if he did once undertake this voyage, there would nothing hinder him, but that himselfe would goe in proper person: and therefore to the intent he might conceale his ill intent, and so excuse himselfe to the World, hee did in stead dis-counsell him from going, but not from undertaking of the enterprise.

It seemeth that his Sorcerers by the meanes of the Diuell (who is very skilfull in coniectures) had prognosticated vnto him the losse and ouerthrow of the Christians. Thus you may see how euen before the departure of this poore Prince, he did then prepare himselfe to swallow vp and deuoure that morsell which hee so much esteemeth and lo-
ueth:

ueth: and for preservation whereof he is at great costs and expences, and feareth not to worke exceeding great mischiefes vnto all Christendome, and to make peace with the Infidels, to the intent hee may the more commodiously make warre vpon the Christian: in so much, that hee doth euen now triumph in the good successe which the Turke hath against them. His reason is; because, seeing how the Popes holinesse hath embraced and receiued to fanour the most Christian King (whose ruine he desired more then his owne proper safety,) and that the Princes of Italy doe seeke his friendship and amity (which I hope they will doe continually, in regard of the publike good that may ensue thereby: he iudgeth, and not amisse, that it may turne to his damage and detriment, and that it may be an occasion to breake off the course of his great designs and enterprises. For this cause doth hee reioyce at the losses and misadventures of the Christians: notwithstanding that the mischiefe doe light vpon his owne flesh and bloud: in so much, that the prosperity of the Infidels maketh him the more proud and haughty.

The Castilian to keepe Portugall to himselfe, doth worke many mischiefes to all Christendome.

Viz. The House of Austria, which is indamaged by the Turke.

And this is it, that hath made him so hardy, as to giue ill entreatie to the Embassadour of Venice, if it be true that is reported; if hee be not hindred, ere long hee will giue worse entertainment to all other, without any exception of persons. Hee thinketh that Almaine and Italie especially, in their afflictions and troubles, will haue need of his helpe and assistance: by reason whereof, he is perswaded, that they will not resolue themselues to follow and fauour the partie of the most Christian king: by meanes whereof hee shall bee well able to effect his affaires in France. If hee had beene disposed to hinder the Turke from making warre in Europe, hee might very well haue done it, by molesting and disquieting him in the East Indies as the true and lawfull kings of Portugall haue done. Hee needed haue done no more but haue ioyned with Xata-
ma the great King of Persia, the friend of the Portugals,

The Embassadour of Venice ill intreated by the Castilian.

for to keepe the Turke in awe, and within compasse.

The victorie
of Stephen de
Gama against
the Turkes.

Gama made
many knights
at the foote of
Mount Synay.

The victory of
Don Iohn de
Castre

Infinite are the praises, wherewith Historiographers haue celebrated the victory which *D. Stephen de Gama* Portugall, Gouvernour of the East Indies, did obtaine against the Turke, vpon whom hee made warre for that effect and purpose. This battell was fought at the foot of Mount Synay: after which the said *Gama* made many Portugals knights, for bearing themselues valiantly in that battell: amongst the which there were two of speciall markes; who being issued of noble parents, did leaue behind them an immortall memorie of their honour and glorie. The one of them was called *Don Iuan de Castre*, who afterwards being Viceroy of the said East Indies, did get that famous victory, which you may read of in the life of the king *Don Emmanuel*: in the which with lesse then foure thousand Portugals, he defeated an infinite number of enemies, and put to flight *Moicatan* Constable of *Cambaia*; who being sent by the king *Mamud* his Lord and maister with foureteene thousand men, to succour the citie of *Diu*, which held the Portugals besieged within the Castle: he was constrained to leaue 300. of his men dead vpon the place; hauing lost the *Guydon* royall, with all their baggage. *Inzarcan* the yonger (a great Lord in those parts) was taken prisoner, and *Raman* the Gouvernour of the said citie, (which was great, goodly and populous) was there slaine: and the Portugals made themselues absolute Lords of the citie. Of this valorous Captaine, *Don Iuan de Castre*, who is now at this present in France, is the grand child: and he also hath beene as faithfull to his king and countrey, as the said *Don Iuan* his grandfather. The other of those two knights was called *Don Lewes de Altrida*, afterwards Countie of *Arouguia*, who being in Almain at the battle which the Imperialists gaue to the Duke of Saxonie, and the Princes of his partie, *Charles* the fift did him great honour, by reason he surmounted all the rest in that iourney, and recovered the imperiall *Guydon*, which the enemies had once gained:

Don Lewes de
Altrida.

Anno Dom.
1548. 24.
April.

in so much, that the Emperour gaue him all the honour of this victorie, according as himselfe wrote vnto *Don Iuan* the third, king of Portugall, his brother in law, and coun-
 sen German, who had sent him thither for his Embassador: and this noble man was twice Viceroy of the East Indies. First, in the life time of *Don Sebastian*, at which time hee defended it against all the forces of *Asia*, both Moores and Paynims had made a league against the Portugals, who both by defending themselues, an assailing of their enemies, did purchase perpetuall and immortall glory. Afterwards being made Viceroy, the second time after the death of the King *Sebastian*, during the raigne of King *Henry*: and knowing that the people of Portugall had chosen and appointed certaine Governours to gouern and defend the realme after the death of the said *Henry*, and that they had named certaine Iudges also to decide the cause, touching the difference vpon the succession of that kingdom: he said openly; I for my part will not yeeld vp the Indies to any other, then to whom the Realme of Portugall shall be adiudged. Infomuch (as some say) that they (which followed the partie of the Castilian:) knowing well that the Iudge would neuer admit him to the succession of Portugall, and being drawne on by the counsell, perswasions, and faire promises of the Castilian himselfe, which were sent vnto them ouer land: (adde herennto the notable diligence and industrie which he vseth in all his affaires. They caused the said *Lewes* to bee made aw ay with poyson: so died that valiant and faithfull Portugall; and there succeeded him in that gouernment a most vngratefull and notable Traitour, who presently after deliuered vp the Indies to the enemy. To the intent the happy memory of *Don Stephan de Gama* might be preserved, there is an Epigraph set in a Pallace builded by *Gama* himselfe (after his returne from the Indies) neere to the towne of Setuval in Portugall, which in the Portugall language, though somewhat grossely, is thus written:

Don Lewes de Alcaida Governour of the East Indies the first time.

Don Lewes, Viceroy the second time.

His saying, touching the possession of Portugall and the East Indies.

Don Lewes de Alcaida poysoned.

Quem

Stephan de
Gama his
Epitaph.

*Quem Canelleyros arrou
O pé do monte Sinay,
Vcio acabar aquy.*

That is to say :

*He which made so many Knights,
At the foot of Mount Sinay,
Here (as you see) now doth he lie.*

Portugall, the
most rich and
precious pearle
of the crowne
of Spaine.

But to our purpose: At this day *Philip* hath more force, more puissance, and many more commodities, to hinder the Turke on that side of the East Indies, from making warres in Europe, then all the other kings of Portugall haue had heretofore. Howbeit, as that is not the way to aduance his ambitious desires: so cannot he abide in any case to heare thereof. For, though it were a good deepe and well done: yet it will not be any helpe vnto him towards the preservation of this his Monarchy of Portugall, which he hath vsurped with so many fraudulent deuises and vn-lawfull meanes: and which he pretendeth to leaue vnto his heire, be it by right or by wrong: for he knoweth it to be of most great and noble puissance, and hee esteemeth it as the most rich, precious, and important pearle of his crowne: & indeed so it is. And therefore I cannot but grieue at some that hold themselves to be wise, and of no small iudgement and vnderstanding; both French and English, who will not in any case be perswaded, but that Portugall is a very small and barren countrey, and no greater then Normandie. And some others (who shew their ignorance) affirme it to bee as great as Brie onely: neither will they beleue nor agree, that Portugall is within Spaine; but that it is a countrey separated therefrom; and they will seeme (forsooth) to reason and discourse hereupon, breaking their owne braines about it, to the trouble both of themselves, and those that heare them. These my maisters doe constrain me to become a Geographer in this discourse; howbeit, that I make no profession of that science: neuertheless, because it maketh to our purpose, it will be requisite, that we make a generall description

description of that countrey, and recount some special particulars thereof, to the intent the greatnesse, riches, fertilitye, and puissance thereof, may be the better knowne and discerned.

Portugall is a part of Spaine, situated vpon the maine Ocean: and it extendeth to the Westward from the East 115. leagues, and from the South to the Northward 25. leagues. On the North side thereof is the realme of *Galicia*: towards the East, it hath the Prouinces of *Taragon*, *Lusitania*, and *Bætica*: and to the South, it is bounded with that part of the Ocean Sea, which lieth towards the coast of Affricque. It containeth foure principall Prouinces: the first *la Translagana*, which encloseth the realme of *Algarba*: the second, *la Cistagana*: the third, betweene *Duero* and *Migno*: and the fourth, *la Tronsmontana*. These foure Prouinces containe part of the Prouince of *Taragon*, the greatest part of *Lusitania*, and a part of *Bætica*. It hath in length 5. degrees and a halfe from North to South, and beginneth at *Cape S. Vincent*, in 37. degree, taking a little of the 36. and endeth in a manner in 42. and a halfe, not farre from *Bayonne de Vigo*: and it extendeth from the South South East, to the North North East, where euery degree containeth 19. leagues and a halfe: and it hath commonly in bredth 40. leagues, in some part lesse and some part more. The leagues are not reckoned according to the leagues of France, but by the leagues of the degrees: each of which hath from North to South seuentene leagues and, according to the accompt of Portugall: and so hauing regard what is ouerplusse, and what is wanting, the country of Portugall is fully fortie leagues in bredth: so that making a Figure quadrant of five degrees and in length, drawne from the North North East, to the South South East, and of fortie leagues in bredth from East to West, it will enclose within it all Normandie, a good part of Beaulce, the Duchies of Maine and of Aniou, the greatest part of Tourayn, in a manner all Poicteau, and almost

The description of Portugall.

Of the greatnesse of Portugall.

almost all Xantogne, and some part of Angolesme, with a part of Perigort. And this we shall see cleerely by demonstration, if we make the said Figure quadrant in France of 5. degrees and in length, and 40. leagues in bredth: the forme thereof will bee thus: Draw a line from the Angle on the East side of the quadrant, and where it hath the North at the head; and it will begin at Crotoy vpon the riuier of Somme (which is in 50. degrees of eleuation) euen to Lybourne in Perigort (which is 44. degrees and a halfe) passing neere by Roan, by Eureux, Dreux, and Amboise, neere by Chastellerauld, by Coue, and betweene Negre and Iarnac and Angolesme, and between Barbesieux & Coutras, till you come to the sayd towne of Libourne: All that countrey which is in the West of this figure, is as great as Portugall. And to the intent, that this which I say, may be the better perceiued, it shall not be amisse to describe the rest of the Figure. The quadrant which hath his head towards the North, and beginneth in the East at Crotoy, drawing toward the West, endeth in the Sea, about 6. leagues off the Sea coast of Cherebourg, and so passing by Constance and by Graundville neere the towne of Dol by the villages of Becherel, Redon, and Arebon, and entring into the Sea betweene Guerrand and Croisic, euen to 44. degrees and a halfe, to the East of the sayd towne of Libourne 10. leagues from the land, which is to the South of Anchises: wee shall come to haue our Figure perfect. Moreouer, because there may be no doubt in this demonstration, we will answer to an obiection which may be made by those which will not that Portugall should be greater then Normandie, and that is, seeing the line from the west side of our Figure passeth by Cherebourg, Constance, &c. so as it commeth into the Sea betweene Guerrand and Croisic; what shall be done with the land which remaineth, which is a little part of Normandy, and endeth neere the Isle of Alderney, and from thence alongst the greatest part of Brittain? Wheretunto I answer, that
all

Obiections.

Answer.

all this land, and all the countrey which remaineth there, may be put within the West Angles of the Figure, which are voyd, because they end within the Sea. Now this demonstration being well made and vnderstood, and being compared with the greatnesse of Portugall, we shall finde that her circuit is not only as great as all these Prouinces of France, which we haue spoken of, but euen as great as all that circuit which is comprehended in the Isle of great Brittain, which we call England.

Portugall as
great as Eng-
land.

As touching the fertilitie of Portugall, a man may easily iudge thereof by that which *Strabo* writeth of it speaking of *Lusitania*, which is the greatest part of the sayd Realme, saying, *Lusitania*, is a Region most fertile in fruits, in cattell, in gold and siluer, and many other like commodities. And the Prouinces and lands which the Portugals possesse in Spaine out of *Lusitania*, are held to be much more fertile, then those of *Lusitania* it selfe: as the lands which they hold in *Bætica*, in the Prouince *Transmontana*, (which the common people call *Tras los Montes*) and in the Prouince betweene *Duero* and *Migno*, which the Latines named *Interamnus*, and which (the sayd *Strabo*) against the common and true opinion, placeth within *Lusitania*. And he sayth further; in *Lusitania* is the riuer *Lethe* which many call *Lima*, and some others *Belion*: wherein he is deceiued; as also in saying that *Minus* surpasseth all the riuers of *Lusitania* in greatnesse: for *Lyme* is shut in within the Prouince that lieth betweene *Duero* and *Migno*: which Prouinces (following the true description, are enclosed in the Prouince of *Taragon*: and *Migno* is much lesse then *Duero*, *Tago*, and *Guadiana*, which are in *Lusitania*.

The fertilitie
of Portugall
Strabo. lib. 3.
de situ orbis.

There are in Portugall three Archbishoprickes, and ten Bishoprickes: all which, euen at this day doe bring to their Prelates about 400. thousand Ducats of yeerely rent. The countrey for the greatnesse thereof is well peopled: the Duke of *Bragantia* alone in one Cittie, and in the Townes,

Archbishops
and Bishops of
Portugall and
their retinues

The dominion
of the Duke of
Bragantia.

Castles and villages (of which hee is Lord) hath 200000. vassals. Portugall sendeth into the East Indies, Barbary *Cap de Verd*, the Isles of *Buan*, *Mina*, *S. Thomas*, *Congo*, *Angola*, *Brafill*, and other places some 6000. men yearly, of whom, the third part neuer returneth home againe into their countrey. If *Philip* durst at this day put any confidence and trust in the Portugals, he might draw out from Portugall, to send vnto his warres more then 100000. men from the age of 25. yeares to 40. who hauing nothing to hinder them from going, nor haue any excuse not to obey him, if he should command them.

It is not vnknowne to the whole world, that in the time of *Sebastian* king of Portugall, there were throughout all that realme 1200. companies of footmen, in the which there were none enrolled nor mustered, but onely the people of that countrey, Artizans, handicrafts-men, and such like mechanickall persons and laborers, and yet not all of them: the Noblemen, Gentlemen, officers of iustice: the the gouernours of cities and towaes: the students and such as professed learning: in sum, all the Nobilitie, the Ecclesiasticall and regular persons, with their seruants, and many other sorts of men priuiledged were excused and exempted, and were not bound to enroll themselues in the sayd Companies: of which the most part consisted of 200 men, some of 300. and of 400. Let vs allow to each of them 200 men onely, and they will amount to the number of 240000 men. Consider then how great the number may be of them, which were not bound to be enroled in those Companies. I doe not here make any mention of the number of companies of Horsemen, of which this Realme hath a great quantity, because it is not possible to know the certainty and truth thereof.

The number
of men fit for
warre in Por-
tugall.

The greatnes
of the king of
Portugall.

Moreouer the Kings of Portugall are so great in one respect, that therein they exceede all the Kings and Princes of Europe, and that is, that they are able in lesse then 2 quarter of an houre to giue vnto their vassals and subiects 10

15 or 20 Millions in tickets, consisting in dispatches for Gouvernorships, Captainships, receipts, and other charges and Offices, and for licenses to make voyages by Sea to Banda, Malucco, China, and other parts of the East Indies: by meanes of which dispatches, they which doe obtaine them, doe recouer the said summes of money immediatly.

Hereby may a man easily iudge the greatnesse, the riches, and the puissance of this Realme, whereunto adding the feignories which it hath and possesseth in Affrike, Asia and America, and in the Ilands which it holdeth in the Ocean Sea, it maketh a most notable, great and puissant Monarchy: and therefore I maruell not though the King of Castile doth commit such excessse, and is at so great costs and expences for the keeping and preserving of the same: he knoweth full well how much it importeth him, and of what value and worth it is vnto him: he is not ignorant, as one that knoweth not the estate of things, but on the contrary rather he is wise, aduised, very politike, and well experienced in affaires and matters of state.

The Translator.

This thing Anthony de Perez (Secretary of estate to the King Catholike Don Philip the 2. the man here spoken of) doth shew vs in the second part of his aduersisement, vpon the point of the processe made against him, where hee entreateth of the dissimulations, deceits, and subtilties sed by the said Philip toward Don Iohn de Austria his brother, vpon pretence of the Realme of Tunes, and the intelligences of England, as such time as he sent him into Flanders: Where (as the report is) in the end he caused him to be poysoned.

Anthony Perez. 2.

Don Iohn de Austria dyed of poyson.

Besides, the said Philip is notably addicted to Cosmography: for hee hath in his Palace of Madril, a very great and goodly House, wherein are the descriptions of all the Prouinces and Realmes of the World, not onely in generall Maps, but euen in particular: there doth hee spend the most

Philip much giuen to Cosmography.

70
The Spanish Pilgrime, or

part of the day, and contemplating and beholding those descriptions, he doth whet on and augment his ambition, and extendeth the bounds of his tyranny: there he seeth what is most fit and conuenient for him, and most easie for him to conquer: there he seeth by what meanes he may take Cambray, and how afterward he may obtaine Calis, and what reason he hath from thence to leape ouer to Amiens: and thus doth hee consider and deuise with himselfe what will be most for his profit and aduantage, in such sort that nothing can escape his hands, and that hee may not be at charge, nor hazard his meanes in vaine, and to no purpose. He is also well scene and much conuerfant in Histories; and by them hath he scene and discerned how much it doth import him (for the attaining to his desire) to haue the Monarchy of Portugall, and the Portugals at his deuotion, to the intent hee may haue the aydes and succours from thence which both hee and his predecessors haue heretofore had from them: for during these 300 yeeres past, the Castilians haue done nothing worthy of memory without them.

Philip well
scene in Histories.

The Castilians for these 300 yeeres past haue done nothing without the Portugals.

The warre of Salado.

The chiefe cause of that famous victory which they call *del Salado* (where were partly taken, and partly slaine 400 thousand Moores,) and onely 20 Christians (as was reported from the mouth of *Alboacem* himselfe King of Marocquo) was the King of Portugall *Alfonso* the 4. called the Braue, and his Portugals, the which *Alfonso*, at such time as the Moores besieged Tariffa, gaue succours to *Alfonso* King of Castile, called the Iusticier his sonne in law, not because he deserved to be ayded, but because the warre was against the Infidels.

The warre of Granado in the year 1501.

At such time as *Alfonso de Aguilar* was slaine in Granado, and that the Moores remained victors, and pursued the victory, the Portugals did hinder them from passing forward: and keeping the field where the battell was foughten, did saue and preserue the rest of the Castilians.

When the peoples of Castile did rise in armes vnder pretence of the common and publike good, and many great Lords

Lords and Princes with them against *Charles* the fifth, by reason of the great, excessive and new exactions and imposts laid upon them: the Embassadors of the said Princes, and of many Cities and Townes of Castile came to the King of Portugall *Don Emanuel*, praying him that hee would vouchsafe to take and acknowledge them for his vassals and Subiects, for that they were desirous to haue him to their King and Lord: but he would not or eley not receiue their offer, but he gaue them good counsell and admonition, shewing them how they ought to conforme themselues in obedience to their King. And to other of the Princes, Cities, and Townes of Castile, which taking part with the said *Charles*, came vnto him likewise for his ayde, he gaue them both money, artillery, powder, and other munition for the warre. Some say that the said King *Don Emanuel* did lend them 500000 duckats, and many peeces of artillery, which was an occasion that they which were risen in armes, did fall to an accord and agreement with their Prince: and thereof it ensued that *Charles* the fifth did againe vsurpe the Realme of Nauarre, which *Monsieur Andrew de Foix* had before restored and set at liberty: the King *Don Emanuel* neuer suspecting nor doubting of any such matter intended by him. And *Philip* now likewise for his part hath rewarded Portugall with the like good turne, as hee hath done the like to France, and now lately a great part of Christendome, to whom he was not meanely bounden.

The commu-
nality of Ca-
stile in armes
against Charls
the 5.

The true ami-
ty of Emanuel
King of Por-
tugall to
Charles the 5.

Anno 1522.

When the said *Charles* the fifth passed to Goletta in the yeere 1535, who tooke it? That did the Gallion *Cagafuego* of Portugall, which the King *Don Iohn* the third had commanded to accompany the Infant *Don Lewes* his yonger brother.

The taking of
Goletta with
22 other ships
of warre.

How came it to passe that the same *Charles* the fifth tooke the Towne of *Tunes*, the capitall and chiefe City of the Realme of Lybia? was it not with the assistance and ayde of the said Infant and his Portugals?

The taking of
Tunes.

Who

The taking of
Pignon de
Belles by the
Portugals.

Who was it that tooke *Pignon de Belles* with the residue, not aboue 35 yeeres since, for the King of Castile? euen *Francisco Barreto*, Generall of the Gallies of Portugall, and the Captaine *Diego Lopez de Sequeira* his Nephew, with the Portugals of his company.

The warre of
Granado finished by the
Portugals.

Who finished and gaue an end to the oppression of Castile, in the behalfe of the Granadians that were reuolted in Granada in the yeeres 1566. 67. and 68? That did 7 or 8 thousand Portugals send for a succour by the King *Don Sebastian*. Philip King of Castile knoweth all this full well: and that is the cause that he labourerh and paineth himselfe with so grear care and diligence to keepe this Monarchy of Portugall, pretending not onely to vsurpe it, to tyrannize ouer it, and to plucke it by force and violence out of the hands of the Portugals, but to take from them also their honour, their glory, and their valour: for hee seeth well, that hauing the Portugals on his side, hee shall be able by their meanes to satisfie his ambitious humour: and yet shall they not haue the honour due vnto them for their prowesse, but hee attributeth all to the generosity of his Castilians. So hath he tyrannized, and doth yet still tyrannize ouer the honour of the Arragonnois, the Catalans, the Valentians, the Nauarrois, and other the Nations of Spaine: and onely his Castilians (which cary the name of Spaniards, and are so called by those that are ignorant; and know not the difference that is between the seuerall Nations of Spaine.) they (I say) are those Lyons, those Tygers, and conquerours of the World. But we will come to the conclusion of this part of our Treatise touching Portugall, the most precious and chiefeest pearle of his Crowne. It was my chance to be one day in his company with a personage of great estate, who is daily at great charges, and doth spend good store of duc-kats to haue notice and intelligence of that which passeth abroad in the World: and hee did assure me for a certaine and vndoubted truth, that one of the greatest fauourites of the King of Castile did demand of him this question: What should

should be the cause that he suffered Freezland, and many Townes of other Prouinces of no small importance to be lost, and to fall into the hands, and into the power and subiection of Heretikes; by meanes whereof they were constrained to forsake the true Religion, (a thing worthy to be lamented) onely to succour the Princes and Townes of the League, and to entertaine the warre a foote still in France? Whereunto the King smiling, answered: Let them alone: let them take Freezland and all the rest: that which most toucheth me is the keeping of Portugall: which if I doe, as I hope I shall, I will cut them out so much worke, and giue them so much to doe in their owne Countrey, that they shall not easily come neere mine, and I doubt not at length but to haue the rest also: for know this; that if I keepe and possesse Portugall in peace and quietnesse, they shall not onely not be able to liue without me, but I shall make them in the end to be my subiects, and to become tributaries vnto me: and therefore let it not grieue you to see what is lost, for all will be recouered well enough in time, and leaue the care thereof to me alone.

A question moued by a gentleman to the King of Castile.

The answer of the King of Castile.

The French Translatour.

Philip seeing himselfe Lord of so great a Monarchie, doth aspire by all meanes he may to the Realmes of France and of England, and of other Prouinces: and hee doth reape so great contentment in his ambitious thoughts and purposes, that hee cannot but discover his conceit in that behalfe: insomuch that not onely they of his Councell, but his particular priuate Souldiers doe know it. After the taking of the Isle of Terceras, the Captaines which accompanied the Marquesse de Santa Cruce in that iourney, said openly: Now that we haue all Portugall, England is ours, and by little and little wee shall gaine France also. For prooffe whereof wee haue neede of no other witnesse, then that which his owne Writer Conestagio saith in continuing his Historie before the taking of the said Terceras,

M

Where

Conestagio
hb. 7. in fine.

Where he hath these words : But the King hauing so lately gotten the possession of Portugall, and seeing the Portugals not yet very quiet, he thought it best to pacifie that Realme, before he intended any other enterprise. And he said, that by keeping his men in armes in those quarters, hee should bridle not onely Portugall, but all Spaine and France it selfe also, and it may be hee would not otherwise haue failed to haue sent a good part of those forces euen for England, at the least for Ireland.

Portugall the
principal cause
of all the
warres.

By those last words aboue vsed by the King, and the former recited examples, may be easily discouered, not onely the ingratitude of this peruerse and vnpleasing Catholike, but wee may also collect and gather, that Portugall is the principall cause of so many warres, so many murders and mischaunces : and that if the same were wrung out of the hands and power of this tyrant, the most Christian King, and the other Princes of Christendome should dwell in peace, the Potentates and common wealths of Europe should be in rest, the Cardinals at Rome should not be at his direction, nor the elections of the Popes at his will and pleasure : ouer the which he doth so tyrannize, that in each of them he maketh himselfe the first person : and (as the saying is) preferreth himselfe before the holy Ghost. There is neuer any election of a Pope, but he nameth some three, foure, or fise persons, to the end that the Conclauē of Cardinals should choose one of them : was there euer seene greater impudency or presumption, that a mortall man should dare vsurpe Gods office ? Ha, most Christian King, it is the part of your Maiesty, to defend and maintaine the soueraigne and chiefe Bishops : they are in their possession to be defended and preserued by the most Christian Kings of France : and to that end haue they endowed them with so great priuiledges, liberties, and prerogatiues. Banish therefore and driue away (Sir) this monster, breake the head of this Serpent, tame this Lyon, and deliuer the Church

How Philip
doth german-
dise the electi-
ons of the
Cardinals and
Popes.

Church from this so tyrannicall seruitude and hard captiuitie. Restore vnto your pupils their wonted peace and liberty, to the intent they may with hardinesse chastise the euill and vicious, and without feare reward the good and vertuous. How often haue the soueraigne Bishops desired to honour and doe good to some persons, in recompence of their vertues and merits, and to correct others for their vices: and haue not beene able to performe either the one or the other? Oftentimes against their wils haue the Popes permitted the wicked to triumph, and more often haue they consented that the good should endure afflictions.

Who did better deserue to be made a Cardinall (if I may not say Pope) then that famous learned man, Doctor *Martin Aspilcueta* of Nauarre, whose memory shall be eternall, both for his doctrine, and for his holinesse and vertue? Neuerthelesse onely because *Philip* could not abide him, for defending against him the cause of that reuerend Prelate *Don. Fra. Bartholmew Carrance*, a religious person of the order of *S. Dominicke* Archbishop of Toledo: and for maintaining also with many and strong reasons, that the Portugals ought of right to choose their King by election: and for prouing by most firme and infallible arguments, that his Catholike Maiesty, did possesse the Realme of Portugall by vniust and tyrannicall title, was therefore thrust out of all, and dyed in the estate of a poore and simple Priest. Who did euer in all reason deserue better, or more worthily to be strangled and burnt then N? and yet because *Philip* would haue it so, hee liueth still and triumpheth. Wherefore, most humbly I beseech both your Maiesties, euen for the honour of GOD, (wherein your selues haue more interest then any other) that you would vouchsafe to attend this matter of so great importance: and that you would vndertake to leuy and make ready a good Armie to passe into Spaine: and to consider

Martin Aspilcueta a Nauarrois.

Fra. Bartholmew Carrance Archbishop of Toledo.

Tyranny as
natural to Philip,
as is laughter to a man.

withall, how great is the prudence, the industry, and subtilty of this common enemy: that your Maiesty would regard his actions, his ambition, and his tyranny: that you would awaken and grow to a resolution, knowing that you haue so great a tyrant to your Neighbour, as of himselfe alone is greater then all others that euer were, or which now are in the World, all of them set together: and who hath gotten, (like his predecessors) all that which he possesseth, by pure and plaine tyranny: which is indeede so proper and naturall vnto him, and doth belong vnto him as properly and vnseparably, as laughter doth to a man.

Giue me leaue, I pray you, to proue that which I speake, by most cleere and certaine Histories, to the intent I may take away all occasion from those (who are addicted to ill speaking, and to deceitfull dealing) to thinke or take me for a liar, for this that I say, may be verified by all the Historiographers of Spaine, both ancient and moderne, which are worthy to be credited, or haue any truth in them: some of which doe liue yet at this day, and it is no long time since they made their workes, and imprinted them with the fauour, and at the costs and charges of the said Philip. And this I will endeavour to proue as briefly as I can, and I will shew how in all the Realmes and Prouinces which the King Catholike possesseth in Spaine, (whereof I my selfe being a Spaniard, doe know somewhat) hee possesseth and holdeth them by tyranny, committed many times and often. And for as much as to proue that which I intend, it shall suffice to touch onely that which hath happened since the 380 yeeres last past: I will not speake of any thing that hath befallen before the yeere of Christ 1217.

Castile tyrannized the first time.

Garibay. lib, 22. cap 41.

Henry King of Castile the sonne of *Alphonfus* the noble, dying, left his eldest sister *Blanch* Queene of France, which was the mother of *S. Lewis*, who was then but two yeeres old: and his Father (who was not yet King of France) was occupied in the warres of England, whither

whither hee was called by them of that land against their King called King *John*, who was reputed for a tyrant. *Henrie* being dead (as is sayd) his youngest sister named *Berangera*, the wife of *Alphonfus* King of Leon with her sonne *Fernand* encroched vpon the possession of the Realme of Castile, and vsurped it against the right of the sayd *Blanch* her eldest sister, and consequently against the sayd *S. Lewes* her nephew.

Fernand being dead, *Alphonfus* his eldest sonne called Emperour of the West (because some of the Electors of the Empire had elected him, whereas the residue had chosen *Richard* the brother of *Henrie* the third King of England) made an accord with the sayd *S. Lewes* the cousin German of his father, touching the succession of Castile in this manner: That *Fernand* the eldest sonne of *Alphonfus* shoulde pouse *Blanch* the daughter of the sayd *S. Lewes*, with condition, that the children borne of that marriage should inherit Castile. Of them twaine were issued *Alphonfus* and *Fernand*, who were deprived of their right by *Sancho* their Vncle, the yonger brother of their father *Fernand*, who died hauing the gouernment of the Realme of Castile and Leon, in the absence of his sayd father *Alphonfus*, which then was gone into Italy, there to sollicit his friends, and to make meanes for the Empire. As soone as *Fernand* was dead, the sayd *Sancho* tooke vpon him the gouernment, getting the possession of many cities and towns in Castile, against the will of *Alphonfus* his father, who dying at Seuill, vpon a friday the 2. of Aprill 1284. cursed his sonne *Sancho*, calling him disobedient, rebellious, vsurper, and a tyrant, and pronounced and named for the true and right heires of his Realmes, and Seignories, his grandchildren *Alphonfus* and *Fernand*: and in case they should die without children, then *Philip* the hardie King of France his cousine German remoued, the sonne of the sayd *S. Lewes* his Vncle. But neither the curses nor denuntiations of the father, nor the feare of God, could make *Sancho* to render

Castile tyrannized the 2. time: and I con the first time.

Ierom Gudiel
In the History
of the Girons.
Garib. lib. 13.
cap. 16.

or restore to the others their right, but he still detained it, and left for his heire his sonne *Fernand* the fourth of that name.

Alphonfus surnamed the *Iusticier*, king of Castile, the sonne of the sayd *Fernand*, and the grand-child of *Sancho*, amongst many tyrannous acts by him exercised, is reported to haue committed one act most vnworthy not onely of a king, but of a man euen of most vile and base condition: for that it was an action full of notable treasons and infidelitie. For hauing inuited *Don Iuan le Tuerto*, (that is to say, the squint eyed) Lord of Biscay, to dine with him, he caused him most cruelly to be murthered in the yeare 1327. And albeit, he had begun to discharge himselfe of this murther for a season, yet he could not disguise nor couer his tyranny: for that afterwards hee caused him to bee condemned as a traitor, and confiscated his lands and Seigniories: and within a short time he seized vpon them all: namely, about a fourescore townes and castles.

The same *Alphonfus* caused *Don Aluar Nuges Osorio* his Gouverneur to be slaine, who had before receiued of him many great honours and fauours; and afterwards being ascertained of his death (which was in the yeare 1328) hee seized vpon all his liuings, Castles, and great Treasures, and vpon the Countie de *Traстамара*: and within a few dayes after, he caused him to be condemned at *Tordehumos* as a traitor: and hauing made him to bee digged vp out of his graue, hee willed his body should bee burned, and his goods confiscated.

Henrie the 2. a bastard sonne of this *Alphonfus Count de Traстамара* slue his brother *Peter*, (of whom we haue formerly spoken) and possessed himselfe of the Realmes of Castile and Leon, disinheriting his Neeces *Constance* and *Isabel*, who with a solemne oath had beene acknowledged Princesses and heires of Castile, first by the estates assembled at Seuill to that end and purpose: and afterwards at Albuberca 1363. And if it had beene true, that these two

sisters

Don Iuan le
Tuerto Lord
of Biscay mur-
thered.

Gariba, lib. 14
cap. 4.
Biscay tyran-
nized.

The Countie
de Traстамара
res vturped.
The Countie
therof slaine.
Garib. lib. 14.
cap. 5.

Castile tyran-
nized the third
time, & Leon
the second
time.

sisters had no right in the said realmes, because hee alledged them to be bastards: by the same reason, had the sayd *Henrie* much lesse right and interest in them: for he was not only a bastard, but murtherer also of his owne brother. And in such like case was *Fernand* King of Portugall the great grand child of *Sancho* aboue named, right inheritor to the said realmes; as was the king *Don Peter* his cousine german remoued, and cousin german also: for *Beatrice* the mother of *Peter*, was the sister of *Peter* the father of *Fernand*. For this cause *Samora*, *Toco*, *Cindad-Rodrigo*, and other citties and townes of the realmes of Castile and Leon, did call in the said *Fernand*, and offered to receiue him for their king: especially the realme of *Galitia*, which was wholly resolved to render it selfe vnto him. And for this reason did *Fernand* go in person to take possession of the Groigne: and he might as well haue seized vpon the other places and holds, if the Portugalls would haue consented thereunto. For they did purposely oppose themselves against the desire and will of their King, for two reasons: the first was, because they had good tryall and experience, that there wanted much of that valour in *Fernand*, which was in the father and his auncestors: the second was, because the Castilian Nation is so maligne and peruerse (as the Portugals doe hold it for a *maxime* among themselves) that it is dangerous to haue any thing to doe with them; yea to haue any command ouer them, as hath beene before touched. And I say yet once againe, that their nature is so maligne and peruerse, that the venome and poyson thereof doth so spread it selfe abroad, that they which are their next neighbours and borderers doe feeble the reuerberation of their malignitie and malicious disposition: insomuch, that some of them, when they leaue and abandon their owne countrey, and doe withdraw themselves into strange and forraine lands, are more wicked and malicious, more dangerous, and more to bee feared, then the very Castilians themselves.

The History of Fernand king of Portugall, anno 1469.

The Portugals haue an ill opinion of the Castilians.

The malignity of the Castilians.

In

In the yeare 1474. after the death of *Henrie* the fourth king of Castile, *Isabel* the sister, the wife of *Fernand* king of Arragon, did most tyrannically get possession of the Realmes of Castile and Leon, and of their other Seignories, excluding *Jane* the daughter of the sayd *Henrie* her brother: who in the yeare 1461. had been acknowledged Princeesse and inheritrix of the said Realmes, for default of heire males, in a full assembly of the three estates, which were assembled to that end at Madrill, by the commandment of her father. And the first persons which tooke the oath of fidelitie, and did so acknowledge her, were the infant *Don Alphonsus*, and the sayd *Isabel*, the brother and sister of the sayd king: after whom all the residue did the like, every one in order according to their degrees. And after that shee was againe the second time acknowledged Princeesse and heire of the sayd Realmes in *Val-de-Escoria*, after diligent enquiry made vpon the legittimation of the sayd Princeesse, which was done by the Cardinall *de Alby* a Frenchman, who to that effect was come into Castile by the commandment of King *Lewes* the eleuenth of France: the which Cardinal in the presence of all the Princes and Lords of the Realme, hauing caused the mother to be sworne and take her oath, demanded of her, if the Princeesse *Dame Jane* her daughter, were the daughter of the King her husband: whereunto shee answered vpon her oath, that shee was. Secondly, the King (which tooke the same oath, and) protested that he did fully beleue and assure himselfe, that this infant *Dame Jane* was his daughter, and that in all certaintie hee had continually so taken and reputed her euer since she was borne: and therefore he did wil and command that the oath of fidelitie and obeyfance, which was vsually accustomed to be taken in his Realmes and Dominions, as due to the eldest of the Kings children, should be made vnto her. These are the very words of *Steuens Guaribay*: *Hierome Surste* (who is yet liuing) doth rehearse this historie very plainely and distinctly in his generall history of Spain, and

Guarib. lib. 17.
cap. 21.

and how *Henrie* being ready to yeeld vp the Ghost, did euen then maintaine, that the said *Iane* was his daughter and that he commarced his Confessor openly to reuale it. And the said *Guaribay* affirmeth that *Henrie* did confesse himselfe the space of a good hower, before his soule departed from his body, and that he being in good and perfect quietnesse of sense, and of a sound and good memory, after he had named the executors of his last will and testament, and declared them for the Gouvernors of this Realm, and had giuen commandement, that his seruants should be payd out of his treasures and iewels, he named the said *Princesse Iane*, for the vniuersall heire of all his Realmes and dominions, calling her by the name of his daughter, and recommending her with all his affection to the sayd Gouvernours.

Hierome Summe in the generall historie of Spaine

By that which hath beene sayd, it appeareth clearly, that the Realme of Castile, in lesse then 258. yeares hath beene tyrannized foure times, and that of Leon thrice, and all the other Realmes and Seigniories likewise, which are dependants of the same: the which the king *Philip* possesseth euen at this present day by a most vniust, wrongfull and tyrannicall title.

This also is one thing worthy to bee marked, and (which may be seene by the histories both of the same authours, and of diuers others) namely, that when there hath happened any difference or disagreement vpon the sayd succession, they which haue beene in possession, haue altogether preuayled, and made their title, euen by the right of those very parties whom they haue dispossessed: which is the greatest tyranny that can bee. And that this may the better be perceined, I will alledge onely two examples.

Rodrigo Sanchez Bishop of Palance recounteth, how *John* the first King of Castile and Leon (of whom wee haue before spoken) seeing that *John* of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, pretended the sayd Realmes of Castile and of

In the life of *John* the first king of Castile

N

Leon

The cunning
of Iohn the
first king of
Castile.

Leon to appertaine vnto him, for the reason heretofore alledged; hee said in defence of his claime, that the sayd Realmes did of right belong vnto him, as being the sonne of *Iane* and the Grand-child of *Don Iuan Emanuel* and of his wife, who was the daughter of *Fernand de la Cerda*, the lawfull heire of the sayd Realmes: because his brother *Alphonfus* was deceased without children; and that for this cause hee did hold them with a good conscience, and that he did not hold them from his father, whom himselfe confessed to be a bastard.

The policy of
Fernand the
second King
of Arragon,
&c.

The other example is like vnto the former. For in a great assembly of Princes, Lords, and other principall personages, held in the towne of Trogillo, for the taking of the oath of fidelitie to *Fernand* the second king of Arragon, and *Isabel* his wife Queene of Castile, the sayd *Fernand* pretended that hee had more right of himselfe, then the sayd *Isabel*; and that hee ought to be acknowledged as the true and principall heire of the sayd Realmes of Castile and Leon, not as husband to the said *Isabel*, but as descending in the right and lawfull line male of the kings his predecessors, because hee was the sonne of *Iohn* the grand-child of *Fernand*, and the great grand-child of *Iohn* the first: who on the side of his mother *Iane* the grand daughter of *Fernand de la Cerda* (as hath beene sayd) was the true and rightfull heire of the said Realmes. *Isabel* knowing the intent and ambition of *Fernand* her husband, resolved to bend and employ all her force and puissance for the maintaining of her right: and for a reply to his speech she said: That that which hee had spoken was to bee granted, if women had not beene vsually admitted to the succession of those Realmes: but seeing the custome was to the contrary, therefore her said husband ought not to bee preferred: and for prooffe of that which she sayd, she named certaine women which had succeeded to the said crownes: amongst others *Katherine* the daughter of *Constance*, and of *Iohn* of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster aboue mentioned,
where

where ſhe did aſſure her ſelfe had beene admitted, and received to that inheritance as the grand-daughter of her graund-father *Peter*, and that *Henrie* the husband of the ſaid *Katherine*, her anceſſors, had right thereunto onely by meane of the ſaid *Katherine* his wife. For theſe reaſons *Iſabel* was preferred before *Fernand*, and ſhe was acknowledged as the true heire of the ſaid Realmes of Caſtile and Leon, and he reputed to haue right onely as her husband and companion, and not otherwiſe. And this is it which *Marin Sicilian* ſpeaketh of. In this aſſembly of eſtates (ſaith he) *Fernand* ſeeing himſelfe king and Lord of the moſt of two third parts of Spaine, partly in his owne right, and partly in his wiues, and hauing there preſent all the Lords and Deputies of citties and townes, which were their ſubiects, he did endeavour by all meanes, to cauſe himſelfe to be entitled king of Spaine: but thoſe of that aſſembly would in no caſe yeeld their conſent thereunto: but to the vttermoſt of their power, did oppoſe themſelues againſt it, and did thereupon giue vnto the kings of Caſtile a new title, which *Philip* holdeth and retaineth at this day, hauing augmented thole Realmes and Seignories, which both the ſaid *Fernand* and *Charles* the 5. his father did ſucceſſiuely vſurpe each after other.

Mario Sicilian.

The Tranſlator.

Philip Caried on with the ſame winde of ambition, as were his great grand father and his father, vpon an exceeding deſire which hee had to vſurpe this title of King of Spaine: and ſeeing that the Realmes of Spaine would not accord nor agree that he ſhould ſo entitle himſelfe: and that in the aſſembly of eſtates (which he held in Portugall in the yeare 1581. within the towne of *Tomar*) it was expreſſely defended him, and that himſelfe had taken a ſo emne oath, neuer more from thenceforth to take it vpon him: neuertheles he cauſed for all that (like a notable tyrant) certaine monies (which he coined in the Indies

Philip caried away with the ambition of his anceſtor, cauſeth himſelfe to be called king of Spaine.

and in Flanders) to be engrauen with this superscription: Philippus Hispaniarum Rex: wherein hee imitated the sayde Fernand his great grand-father, who tooke so great paines, to gaine or rather to usurpe this honourable title, that many strangers of forraine nations did liberally giue it vnto him, who neither knew, nor would understand what aduantage the same would bring vnto the tyrant, and what detriment the nobilitie, peoples and prouinces of Spaine should suffer, by allowing the same title vnto him.

So that herein may bee scene most apparantly, the notable tyranny of the predecessors of the king Catholike now raigning: who, after they had for a while suppressed the right of others, to the intent themselves might tyrannize ouer those Realmes: yet would afterwards seeke againe to reuiue, and to retaine that very right, and title which they had before most iniuriously vsurped. A thing certainly, which may induce vs rather to sigh and to lament, then to conceiue any pleasure and delight, to see the Princes of the earth, which beare the name and title of Catholickes, to bee notwithstanding so bad Christians, and so insupportable tyrants, as is this *Philip* the King of Castile. Which is the cause that all the Ecclesiasticall and regular persons of Portugall doe hate him so extremely, that when the commandement was giuen them, that in certaine of their prayers, and in their Canonick houres, they should expressely pronounce the name *Philip* (for the King knew well, that vnder the name of King vsed indeterminately, they did in their hearts vnderstand and pray for *Don Antonio*.) They tooke his commandement in so ill part, that they could not bee brought to doe it. But in the end they seeing themselves pressed by the commandement of the Bishops and Prelates, they did at length pronounce his name, but with such disdain and in dignitie, as I am ashamed to speake it: notwithstanding because these matters doe well concurre together, and it is not from
our

our purpose; and besides, because hee that shall rehearse them, is not to be blamed for the reciting, for that hee is bound to represent them onely in manner and forme as they were done, I haue determined to recount vnto you two examples concerning this matter, of the which we doe now intreat.

The Archbishop of Lisbon hauing giuen out and published the Kings commandement afore mentioned, through out all the Churches of Lisbon, in the yeere 1582. the first of Ianuary: vpon the day of the three Kings next ensuing, a certaine Curate, as he was saying a solemne Masse in his Parish Church, with great pompe and solemnity, and the Church full of people, when hee came to the end of the prayer which is vsually said after *Gloria in excelsis*: in singing of these words, *Et Famulum tuum regem nostrum* (that is) thy seruant our King; he suddenly stopped, and turning himselfe towards the Deacon and Subdeacon, he spake vnto them with loud voyce. Tell me, tell me, how call you this Diuell: And they answering him, *Philip*, he named *Philip*, and so went on with his Masse.

At the same time it happened that a religious person of the order of *S. Dominicke*, making mention of the King in a certaine prayer, without naming him by his name of *Philip*, and being commanded by his Prelate, vnder paine of contempt and disobedience, that he should name him by his proper name: he then repeated it, saying; *Et Famulum tuum regem nostrum Philippum, Ducem Albensem, Sanchum de Auila & Rodericum Sapata, ceterosque omnes diabolos, &c.* That is to say: And thy seruant our King *Philip*, the Duke de *Alua*, *Sancho de Auila*, and *Rodericke Sapata*, and all the other Diuels. When I rehearsed this vnto a Nobleman of good account, with whom I communicated the greatest part of this discourse, hee wondered greatly, vsing this exclamation; Iesu, doe the Priests and Religious persons of Portugall thus hate his Catholike Maiesty? This is a strange thing, and I maruell much that they hating him so

extreamely, and being of such strength and puissance in their Countrey, (for the most part of them are Noblemen and Gentlemen, and some of them great Princes) that they doe not cause the people to rise in armes against that Tyrant. I answered him, the cause is, for that albeit they haue neuer so iust a cause to take armes, yet the Portugals are a people of great patience and sufferance towards their Prince: and they doe also goe to the warres with so ill a will, (howbeit, that being once in the warres, they proue very good Souldiers) that they had rather goe to hanging. Neuerthelesse, if they should once rise against the Castilian, they would defend themselves in such manner, that hee should neuer more be able to suppress them.

The whole substance of the matter is: that they doe once grow to a resolution, and that they set hand to the worke: which if they once doe, I beleeue that they will make as great a wall betweene Portugall and Castile, as they of China did in times past make betweene them and the Tartarians: and if it were but onely to content the soule of their King *John* the second, named, *The man and King of peace*, who was the scourge and plague of the Castilians: and of him is yet spoken that old prouerbe; *If the Chicke had not come, the Cocke had bene taken.* This Prince knowing the manners, the life, and the tyrannicall actions of the Castilian, was wont to say, that hee did greatly desire to see betweene Portugall and Castile, a wall reared vp so high, as might reach vp to Heauen; protesting, that the thing that most grieved him in this World, was: for that the Sunne did first passe by Castile, before it came into Portugall: and that which made him quite and cleane out of all patience, was, because he knew not how to remedy it.

The Nobleman, to whom I recounted all these things, giuing me great thanks, said vnto me: Certainly I am very glad, and doe thanke you heartily for acquainting me with these particulars, which are things worthy to be remembered, and such as I haue not at any time heard or seene written.

*John the 2. the
scourge of the
Castilians,
named, The
man and King
of peace.*

*The grieve and
discontentment
of King John
the 2. of Por-
tugall.*

written. But I doe not vnderstand (quoth he) what should be meant by that prouerbe aboue mentioned: *If the Chicke had not come, the Cocks had bene taken*: as that also which you haue spoken of the loyalty of *Auila* and *Simancas* in Castile: of *Celorico* and of the Castle of *Coimbre* in Portugall: and of the King of Castile and the Castilians, and of the Cities and Townes. *Monsieur* (quoth I againe) I would gladly declare the same vnto you, but I feare lest I be blamed for making such long digressions: for I am so well acquainted with the disposition of men, that I am not ignorant in how many parts of this my discourse, they may accuse me in that behalte: and therefore I pray you to suffer me first to make an end, and then after the conclusion of this Treatise, I will satisfie your desire particularly and at good leysure: for I doe assure you, I would keepe silence concerning many things in this worke, were it not most requisite and needfull that they should be spoken of and published, for the better attaining to that which I intend and purpose; the which (I doe perswade my selfe) that both you my masters of England and likewise of France, and you also my masters the Princes of Europe (who are all of you highly interessed in the greatnesse of the Castilian) will embrace cheerefully, and with open armes, if you be not altogether without iudgement and vnderstanding. But it is now meer, that we pursue the prooffe and demonstration of the tyranny of King *Philip*, which calleth himselfe the King Catholike.

We haue lately shewed, how King *Philip* by vsurpation and tyranny, *non solum in modo, sed in genere*, (as the Ciuilians vse to speake) of his predecessors, doth possesse the Realmes of Castile, of Leon, of Galicia, of Toledo, of Siuill, of Cordona, of Murcia, &c. with some other Prouinces contained within the precincts and streights of his Realme. Let vs now come to the Realmes of Aragon, of Valentia, the Counties of Barcelona, of Cerdo-

Cerdonia, and Roussillon, and the Isles of Maiorica, Minorica, and Sardinia.

Aragon, Valentia, &c, tyrannized.

The Lord
Don Peter
Constable of
Portugall, and
King of Aragon, poisoned
by Iohn.

Charles the 4.
the rightfull
King of Nauarre, enpoisoned by his
stepmother.

Fernand the Infant of Castile, the graund Father of *Fernand* above named, vsurped all these Realmes and leignories, of the which he deprived *Isabel* Countesse of Vigell his owne Aunt, sister to his Mother: which *Isabel* had also one Daughter named *Isabel*, which married with *Don Peter* the Infant of Portugall, the younger sonne of *Iohn* the bastard King of the said Realme. Of *Peter* and *Isabel* was borne the Lord *Don Peter* Constable of Portugall: which *Don Peter*, by reason of his Mothers right, and of her auncellers, was called and acknowledged by the Catalognians, for their King and Lord. And after hee had reigned ouer them for the space of fve yeeres and more, he was poisoned by *Iohn* the second of that name, sonne of the first *Ferdinand*, whom we named to be the succellour of *Alphonfus* King of Arragon his elder brother.

This *Iohn* was a notable Tyrant, and hee retained the Kingdome of Nauarre tyrannously after the death of the Queen *Blanch* his wife, the right heire of the said Realme, against the rightfull title of *Charles* his owne sonne, vnto whom that Realme ought to haue descended, by the death of his mother: as it did likewise fall vnto *Lewes Huzin* by the death of his mother *Jane*, who dyed eight yeeres before her Husband *Philip* the faire. For this caute the said *Charles* (being a most curteous and vertuous Prince) had great difference and suite with his Father, who caused him to be poisoned by his stepmother *Jane*, the Daughter of *Don Ferdike*, the second, Admirall of Castile.

The Translator.

The grandmother of King Philip on *Charles* his Fathers side, was the gramma daughter of this *Iohn* and this *Jane*: from whom principally hee hath learned and retained the art and science of poisoning so perfectly, that not onely to the said *Iohn*

John the Graundfather of his Graundmother, and to the said Iane his wife, but euen to all his predecessors, he may giue forty fine, and a fault at that game, and yet be no looser; were they neuer so cunning in that art and science.

Of Peter Constable of Portugall and King of Aragon, there was no lawfull issue remaining: for the line of Isabel his mother, was extinguished in John the second, King of Portugall: by reason whereof, the right of that Realme, and all the Seigniories depending thereupon, ought to descend, and doe appertaine to the most excellent Dukes of Loraine, as the true and rightfull heires of Yoland Dutchesse of Aniou, the wife of Lewes, Grandfather in the fift degree of the said excellent Duke of Loraine now liuing: the which Yoland was the lawfull Daughter of John King of Aragon, (the eldest sonne of Peter the ceremonious King of that Realme, who was also the Father of Martin, which raigned after the said John his elder brother,) and was the true heire of this Crowne, and of all the demaines thereof, by the death of her elder sister, the wife of the Earle of Foix, of whom shee had neither sonne nor daughter.

The Duke of Loraine, the right heire of the Kingdome of Arragon,

The Realme of Nauarre was vsurped, (as is reported by diuers Historians, euen Spaniards themselues) vpon false informations by Fernand the great Grandfather of King

Nauarre vsurped.

Philip, which Fernand was one of the Masters of Machiavel, (as Bartholmew Philip doth tell vs in that Booke which he caused to be imprinted in the yeere 1585, where he hath these words:) Those Princes which do fully resolue themselues to preuaile and grow great by force of armes, ought to imitate the Catholike Don Fernand the fift of that name, King of Castile, who held himselfe apart, and gaue the looking on to the warres, which the Princes of Christendome made one upon another, to see what issue and what forces they should haue, to the intent hee might aide and succour those which were weakest: and hee would not suffer any to grow great or puissant in Italy, who pretended to be Lords and Commanders there, neither would hee at any time enter into any leagues made by the

Fernand the 5: King of Castile one of the masters of Machiavel,

In his Booke of the Counsels & Counsellors of Princes.

Dis. 14. par. 11.

This was
Lewes the 13.
of that name.

Let the French
King and the
Princes and
Potentates of
Europe consi-
der this well.

Portugal and
her demaines
tyrannized.

The sonnes of
Katherin Dut-
cheffe of Bra-
gancia.

1. The Duke
Theodorus:
2. Edward.
3. Alexander.
4. Philip.

Princes of Christendome, velleſſe he might make ſome profit and benefit thereby vnto himſelfe. For this cauſe he would not make warre vpon Lewes King of France, when Pope Iulius, the Emperour, and the Swiſſers did warre againſt him, for that hee thought he ſhould not aduantage himſelfe by the diminution of that Realme, if the aduerſaries of the ſaid Lewes ſhould make themſelues great by his loſſes: and yet being perſwaded that the ſaid French King would augment his eſtate, by making warre vpon the Realme of Naples, hee entred into league againſt the King of France, with the Emperour and the King of England.

The Booke (whereof I ſpeake) was dedicated by the Authour to *Albert* Cardinall of Austria, when hee was Vice-roy of Portugall, who is the third Graundchild of the ſaid *Fernand*, both on the Fathers and Mothers ſide.

Now how *Philip* himſelfe hath tyrannized and vſurped the Realme of Portugall, and the Seigniories which are dependant thereupon, raiſing himſelfe into a great and mighty Monarchy, and yet ill conſidered, or knowne by ſtrange and forraigne Princes, all Bookes in generall doe ſound it forth: and the Vniuerſities of Coimbre, of Bologna, and of Piſa, and many learned perſonages haue adiudged it to *Katherine* Dutcheſſe of Bragançia in Portugall, the lawfull daughter of the Infant *Don Edward* brother to the mother of his Catholike Maieſty: which *Katherine* is at this day yet liuing, and hath foure ſonnes, good and ſound Catholikes, learned, wiſe, goodly, and couragious Gentlemen, and two or three daughters. And the Vniuerſity of Paui hath adiudged it to *Raynuncio*, now at this preſent Duke of Parma, the ſonne of *Mary* the eldeſt ſiſter of the ſaid *Katherine*, the ſaid *Mary* being deceased a long time before her Vncle *Henry*. I ſuppoſe that I haue moſt cleerely and ſufficiently ſhewed the tyranny which all Spaine hath endured and ſuffered vnder the predeceſſors of King *Philip* the Catholike: and as for that which the Weſt Indies hath ſuffered vnder himſelfe, as alſo all the reſt whereof hee doth

Write

write himsefse Lord, by what title and pretence they haue beene gotten, it is well knowne euen to the little children, who doe openly cry and speake of it in the streetes: and both Naples, Sicily, Millan, Vtreich, Guelders, Zutphen, and other the Prouinces of the Low Countries, and the Countries of high Almaine, (all which haue beene tyrannized by him and his Auncestors) doe manifestly proue and verifie it: so that it seemeth vnto me, that I haue made good and sufficient prooffe by these Histories and examples, that tyranny is the first and principall heritage of his Catholike Maiesty, euen of *Don Philip* of Austria; and that it is as proper and naturall vnto him, as laughter is vnto a man, and that it belongeth vnto him properly and inseparably. Wherefore now that wee haue made knowne his tyranny, me thinketh it would not be amisse, nor impertinent to our purpose, (most Christian Kings) to entreat somewhat touching his cruelty: for asmuch as Spaine did neuer yet find his like or equall, as the flesh and bloud thereof hath too too well tried, and had the experience.

All Bookes, all men, and euen his owne mischieuous and wicked actions, doe enery where yeeld open and abundant testimonies of his cruelty. If *Iulius Caesar* (as it is reported of him) were cause of the death of more then a million of men, they which haue beene acquainted with the cariage & behauiour of this tyrant, will confesse, that he hath been the death and destruction of a farre greater number. *Caesar* was extreamely grieved to see *Pompey* his enemy dead. And as *Antigonus* when his sonne *Alcinous* presented him with the head of *Pyrrhus*, slaine at the entry of the City of Argos, did sharply reprove him, (*Filiumq; cesarium & barbarum* Plutarch. *vocauit*) calling him a wicked and barbarous sonne: so *Caesar* in imitation of his example, seeing the signet and the ring of *Pompey*, did of pure compassion fall a weeping, in so much as he was resolu'd to make warre vpon *Ptolomey*, because he had slaine *Pompey* traiterously, and hee did so much, that hee caused him in the end to be the instrument of his owne death.

See hereafter. death. *Philip* on the contrary, doth not onely not grieve at the death of his seruants, friends, cousens, nephewes, brother, sonne and wife : but hee doth reioyce and triumph at the same; yea, he doth procure and aduance it, giuing great summes of money, excessive rewards, and great honours vnto the executioners and ministers of his cruelty : and for the satisfying of his pernicious ambition, when there is any thing whatsoever, be it neuer so little that toucheth him, he maketh no exception of persons, be it Pope, Nuncio, Bishop, Monke, or other Ecclesiasticall person, hee paysoneth them all, without feare of God, or shame of man.

The Translator.

Of his seruants and friends he hath caused to be made away the Counties of Egmont and of Horne, the Lord Mountigny, and the Marquesse of Bergues, with many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, whose bloud is yet fresh in remembrance : the Prince of Orange, Marke Anthony Colonna, Don Iohn de la Nuca great Iusticier of Arragon, the Duke de Villa Hermosa, the Marquesse de Fuentes, Don Iohn de Luna, &c. his Cousin the Emperour Maximilian, his Nephewes by his Sisters, Don Sebastian King of Portugall, and Don Alexander Farnese Duke of Parma, Don Iohn Duke of Bragantia, his brother Don Iohn de Austria, his sonne, the Prince Charles his eldest sonne, his wife Isabel, Sister to the three last Kings of France deceased, Pope Sixtus the first, Alexander Formenti, Nuntio in Portugall, sent thither by Pope Gregory the 13. as he was on his returne towards Rome, in his passage through Castile. Of Bishops, Monkes, and Ecclesiasticall persons, Don Bartholmew Carrance, Archb. of Toledo, of whom we haue lately spoken, being his owne master, a man of so great authority and excellency, that by the space of many yeeres Spain hath not brought forth his like. This good Catholike was the cause of his imprisonment so stritt and so long, as all the world knoweth: this good Christian, in imitation of Nero, did persecute this personage
with

The Archb.
shop of Toledo.
do.

with most notable hatred and rigour, till such time, as for verie grieffe and sorrow he died at Rome: the Doctor Frier Hector Pinto, Prouinciall of the order of S. Ierome in Portugall, and ordinary professour of the holy Scriptures in the Uniuersitie of Coimbre, whose great learning is sufficiently witnessed by the most godly and graue Writings which he hath sent into the world, being imprisoned in Portugall by the commandement of his Catholike Maiestie: some of his friends (who were well affectioned to the Castilian partie) did earnestly intreat and perswade him to retract and recant that which he had publickly read and preached: and to declare, that his said Maiestie was lawfull heire of the said Realme of Portugall: the which he would not doe, notwithstanding all the prayers and perswasions of his said friends, to whom he made this answer: That which I haue sayd, I haue sayd: & true it is, that Philip hath not any right in the succession of this Crowne: but inuading and intruding upon the same in such sort as he hath done, without staying till the cause were lawfully and orderly heard and decided, he hath committed violence and tyrannie: and therefore I for my part doe not acknowledge him for my king, but rather for a tyrant and vsurper. Whereupon his friends gaue him to understand, that this would be a verie dangerous thing for him to maintaine: for (said they) they will leade you away into Castile bound hand and foote, and fettered in iron: and there wil they make you languish away in misery, and in the end thre to die without all hope ener to see Portugall againe. Whereunto he answered: Little doth that trouble me, howbeit that it be an extreme grieffe vnto mee to end my daies out of my deare countrey, and that (which worse is) in Castile: and I protest vnto you, that although I doe against my will enter in the realm of Castile, yet shall not Castile ener enter within me. And so as he persisted in this fidelitie to his countrie, and disauowing of Philip, by his commandement there was poyson giuen him, whereof this godly, graue, learned and excellent man died in the flower of his yeares.

Hector Pinto his speech touching King Philip his usurpation of Portugall.

The like misadventure happened to Don Laurence Prior Don Laurence
O 3 generall

generall of the Cannons Regulars of Saint Augustine, of the congregation of the holie Crosse of Coimbre, who for his singular prudence and religion (wherewith hee is notable adorned) had three severall times with great commendation & honor executed & discharged this charge. What shall we say touching the inhumane and brutish crueltie which he hath practised in Portugall against an infinite number of other notable personages? namelie, against that most reverend Father Frier Steuen Leyton of the order of Friars Preachers, the kinsman of the Duke de Aveyra, and of the Duke de Leyria, and of other Princes and great Lords, who was wise Provinciaall, and thrise Vscar generall of his Order. And albeit that all the world did admire the miraculous life of this worthy man, yet because hee had tooth and naile (as the saying is) defended the right of his countrie, the said Philip caused him to be taken and imprisoned, depriving him of his voyce active and passive, and of the exercise of his Priesthood, which was the occasion of his death, through extreame griefe and sorrow.

Frier Steuen
Leyton,

These things and manie others hath hee committed against a great number of persons, both Regular and Ecclesiasticall, whom to reckon up were infinite. All those above mentioned, they have bene either ill intreated, or else put to death by the commaundement and order of his Maiestie, that is so Catholike: as is well knowne by true and manifest proofes, and by most cleare and evident coniectures. It may bee that one day you shall see touching this matter a more ample and large historie then this same: which containeth onelie his cruelties towards his neighbours, and yet not all of those neither. See an epistle which Anthonie King of Portugall sent unto Pope Gregorie the thirteenth of that name, in the yeare 1584.

Behold then how hee dispatcheth all his affaires, and in what manner hee dealeth with all the world. It was not long since there was taken in the Citie of Leon a packet of letters, written with his owne hand, and sent

to the Constable of Castile, within the which were found certaine graines amongst the letters: and a certaine Gentleman suspecting somewhat, gaue of those graines to eate to manie liuing creatures, which all died immediately. Another like matter as this same happened within a while after in the franke Countie of Burgoigne, in a certaine house where the Constable of Castile had lodged; after his departure from thence, a chamber-maide of the house founde a ball within a verie faire purse; within which ball shee thinking to haue founde some great treasure, founde certaine graines, of which was made the same prooffe and experience: and all those creatures that did eate thereof, died. This is that notable tyrant which doeth all that hee can doe, to the vttermost of his abilitie, and that dareth seeke to take away the life of the most Christian Maiestie, and other Princes by such shamefull and abhominable meanes, as there is none but would shame to write them, saue onelie maister *Hieronymo Franchi Conestagio*, of whome wee haue formerlie spoken. For hee in the seventh booke of his historie saith, that *Philip* did prize the life of the Priour (that is to say, of Seignieur *Don Anthonio* king of Portugall) at fourescore thousand duckats, as beeing a rebell and disturber of the publike peace and quietnesse. And so did hee handle another Prince that was both his cousin germane, and cousin germane removed, and so manie wayes of kinne vnto him, and so strictly allied vnto him in friendship and amitie, that they carried themselues each to other, as if they had bene each others father; yea, and as if they had bene but one person: and yet did hee vse him as if hee had bene a common theefe, a robber, a malefactor, and a man of no reckening nor estimation. And this horrible and abhominable crueltie doeth not end in Portugall, but it passeth ouer the sea, and the Pyrenean mountaines, into Fraunce, and into England; where he hath bent and employed all his meanes

To wit, of the
Queene of
England, and
Prince Maurice
Count of
Nassau, &c.
Fol 216. p. 2.
80000. duckats
promised
by king Philip
to kill Don
Anthonio

Genes. 4.

Pyrrhus.
Fabricius.Lucius Florus
Pompo. Mela.
Lucas Tuden-
sis, Paulus Es-
frus, and ma-
ny others.

to take away the liues of the Monarches of those realmes. O barbarous, O abhominable hang-man and murderer! hast thou no shame? If thou be a Catholike, as thou doest entitle thy selfe, how is it, that thou knowest not what a deepe of shame and enormitie it is to commit murther? God would not that any man should touch *Caine* himselfe, who had murdered his owne brother: and commanded that if any were so hardy as to kill him, that he should bee seuerely punished: *Omnis qui occiderit Cainem, septuplum punietur*, Whosoeuer shall kill *Caine*, shall be punished seuen fold. If thou doe know this, why doest thou not keepe the commandements of God eternall? The good workes (I say not of Saints, nor of Christians) but euen of Idolaters which hauing no knowledge of the true light, doe follow onely the simple law of Nature, doe they not worke any shame in thee? Doest thou not remember what the Romans did when *Pyrrhus* his Physitian did offer *Fabricius* to poyson him? And how they handled the Schoole-maister to the children of the Fulscians, which came to betray to them to *Camillus*? If thou thinke that these Examples bee nothing to the purpose, learne what sentence they gaue against *Sernilius Cepsio*, who returning to Rome with victorie, and demanding that he may triumph, in recompence of his seruice done to the commonwealth, by the death of *Virianus* (whom he had caused to be slaine by treason) and for that he had subdued a great part of Spaine to the Roman Empire: they pronounced this iudgement against him; that both the said *Cepsio*, and the murderers of *Virianus* were more worthy to be chastised then to be recompenced: and that there was no reason they should allow any reward for the destroying of their enemies, and the victories gotten against them by money and through corruption. *Qua victoria emptia erat. a Senatu, & percussores indigni premio indicati.*

By this then that hath beene said, may bee scene, as in a mirrour, the crueltie of this maligne and peruerse tyrant, whom

whome many will not belecue to bee such a one as in very deede and in trueth he is: but contrariwise, without all consideration, as people blinded, peruerse, and obstinate, they will striue and contend to gratifie him, be it well or ill done. And that which doth make me most out of patience in this behalfe, is to see and heare some, who moued with an indiscreet zeale: or els being wickedly enclined, and (it may bee) guided and seduced by the diuell, doe hold any man whomsoever a most lewd and vile man, and in manner of an heretike, who being drawne by a true and iust zeale, shall publish this much for a trueth and certaintie: in so much, that whether it be for feare or for gaine, or for hatred, or of a disordinate loue and charitie, they doe esteeme it a farre worser deede to accuse and to reprove such open & knowne iniquities, then the very act of doing them. All of you in a manner will confesse and can not denie, but that all this which hath bene spoken touching the malice of this tyrant is most true and certaine: and yet neuerthelesse, they themselves will not for all that stick to say, that notwithstanding it be so, yet it is ill done, so to report of a Prince, that is so great a Catholike. See, I pray you, what a blindnesse, and how strange a matter this is, most vnworthie and vnbecoming any man, that would bee counted either a Christian, or a iust and honest man. If it bee true and publikely knowne, wherefore then doe you contradict it, euen against your owne conscience, and to the hurt and detriment of others? Doe you not knowe, that it is a most wicked and cursed thing, and a manifest sinfull crime to condemne the knowne and notorious trueth? and especially in such things, which by the commandment of God; and in holie and pure religion we are bounden to reprove and reprehend? But you will say vnto me; that there is reason Princes should bee excused in some faultes, when they are otherwise endowed with any notable and excellent vertues. And that there did neuer reigne in Spaine any Prince, which hath giuen better triall,

P

nor

Nefarium est & maleficam cognitam veritatem damnare.

It is as the sin of witchcraft, to condemne the knowne truth.

Obiections or allegations of reasons to iustifie or excuse K. Philip.

nor made such euident demonstration of him selfe to bee a good Catholike, as his Catholike Maiestie, of whome now wee are in question. There is no Prince that hath so much enlarged, and augmented the Catholike faith as hee: There was neuer any that did vse the Clergie, and all, both Ecclesiasticall and Regular persons with greater loue, nor greater reuerence. And in brieft, there is not any hath builded more Monasteries, nor edified so many Churches, nor exercised so great bountie and liberalitie towards the Church as he hath done; for besides the great and excessiue costs and expences which hee hath bene at in building them, hee hath founded them with most great and rich rents and reuenues, and hath honoured them with most ample and beneficiall priuiledges. This is well said. Beleeue me my maisters, I am infinitely sorrie, that I may not briefly aunswer to these propositions, for that euerie one of them doeth require a more ample treatise then this worke which wee haue in hand: neuerthelesse, I will not leaue by the way (as it were) to say something touching the same, and to shewe you how you doe abuse your selues in all these matters. And first, to aunswer to the former of your allegations; I confesse that you say nothing but reason: when a Prince shalbe a good Catholike, iust, honest, and valiant, without being liberall: it is great reason he should be pardoned of this defect; and so doe I thinke also, when any of those vertues shalbe wanting in a Prince, which are conuenient and fit for the royall person and dignitie: so as notwithstanding he be furnished and adorned with the residue. Howbeit I doe not forget what the commaundement of God is, touching this point:

An answer to
the former ob-
jections, or al-
legations.

James, 1. v. 10.

Quicumque totam legem seruauerit, in uno autem offenderit, factus est omnium reus: whosoever shall keepe the whole law, and yet faileth in one point, he is guiltie of all. But I speake now as touching man, and in respect of men onely, and not of God: and I am of this opinion, that if a Prince
be

be touched with some notable vice : as if he be vniust, or cruell, or a tyrant, or an ill or loose liuer, &c. yet being accompanied and turnished with other vertues, we ought not neuerthelesse, for any one of those vices aboue mentioned ; (how great and haynous so euer it be) neither to revolt from him, nor yet so to complot or conspire against him, as to procure his ruine and destruction (for as much as in seeking his ruine, we shall sooner finde our own, which Fraunce hath well prooued of to her cost.) But we are bound to haue our recourse to God, by hartie prayer, fasting, and abstinence, and to pray to his diuine Maiestie, to turne his mercie toward him, and to pardon him, and to giue him grace and vnderstanding to auoide that which is euill, and iudgement and wisedoome, to choose that which is good : that hee would giue him a contrite and humble heart, and would deale with him according to his mercies, to the intent the sweete smelling sacrifice may ascend vp to heauen, and that of his clemencie it would please him to receiue his prayers and oblations made vnto his diuine Maiestie. By such meanes did the people of Loraine obtaine by the mercie and fauour of God so much grace for their Duke *Thierry*, the sonne of *William*, the brother of *Godfrey* and *Balawin* Kings of Ierusalem, a most cruell and tyrannicall Prince, & one that was a persecuter of the Church of God, and an oppresser of his subiects and vassals, in so much as he did not only come to himselfe and amended his wicked life, (but also restoring that which he had wrongully taken) he withdrew & shut himselfe vp in a Monasterie, where by the space of foure yeares before his death, he led a perfect & holy life. O that it would please God, that your great friend *Philip* the Catholike (in whom are wanting all the vertues which are fit and decent for a good and iust Prince) would doe the like, and would restore vnto others, the goods & liuings taken from them, after the example of Duke *Thierry*, and not as did *Charles* the first his father. And let this suffice for an answer to the first proposition alledged by you.

Good and whole some counsel for the demeanor of subiects towards their Princes.

As touching the second: true it is, that *Philip* hath greatly aduanced the Christian faith in the West Indies: in so much that this doeth serue him greatly as a cloake or mantle to couer, and to augment his vsurped power and tyrannie: but this good worke ought to bee imputed to such deuout and religious persons, both of his subiects and others, as haue bene the instruments thereof, rather then to him. See, I pray you, and consider well, how hee hath extended Religion in Affrique: hee hath euen of late, against the institutions of the order of the Knights of the Religion of *Iesus Christ*, and others, concluded and made peace in Barbarie with the Infidels, to the intent hee might with the more commoditie make warre in Europe against the Christians. And what doeth hee at this day against the Turke, but onely dallie and trifle with him?

Touching the third of your propositions: histories doe well recount, and all men may assure themselves, how much hee loneth the Ecclesiasticall persons, and what reuerence hee beareth to them that are religious. In times past, it was neuer seene, that any Ecclesiasticall or religious person hath bene put to death in Spaine, for any matters concerning the estate. The greatest crueltie, and most rigorous seuerie iustice, that the Arrian Princes shewed vppon them for being contrarie to their opinions, was to imprison them, and to keepe them enclosed within Monasteries. True it is, that of some of them they did put out the eyes, and afterwards, some Princes did cause them to be put to death secretly in prison: but as for the gallowes, and such like infamous deaths, they knew not what it meant, saue onely since the reigne of his Maiestie, that will be held for so great and so good a Catholike. And I for my part do belecue, that he is no lesse: and yet I know he is but a very bad Christian: for I make no doubt but he beleueth all that which the holy Catholike, Apostolike Romane Church our mother teacheth, and instructeth

vs: howbeit I know full well, that he doth not obserue any of the precepts commanded in the Decalogue.

And as concerning the rest of your allegations made in his excuse; although that *Philip* hath builded vp a great number of Monasteries, and many Churches, endowing them with rich reuenues, yet all this will not make me, but that I must needs take him and acknowledge him for a notable tyrant, and a most cruell Prince. Historiographers haue written largely of the cruelty of *Brunhault*, (howbeit, that some would excuse her, and doe attribute this fault vnto the first Writers) and they doe affirme, that shee caused to be put to death ten seuerall Kings in France, and many other persons of great quality. Also they write of her, that shee caused a great number of Churches to be builded, and did provide them of so great goods and riches, that it is a very strange thing to be reported. See what *Gaguin* writeth thereof: in so much, that if a man would compare the charge and expences of *Brunhault*, with the meanes shee had, he would greatly maruell, how this woman was able in one age to build so many Temples, and assigne vnto them also so good and large reuenues. Now *Brunhault* hath deserued another manner of praise and commendation, for vsing so great liberality towards the Church, then doth *Philip*, because shee gaue of her owne, and *Philip* giueth of other mens. In Spaine they finde great fault with those that will steale a sheepe, and will giue the fee for Gods sake: and so doth his Catholike Maiesty; hee draweth from the Clergy *Tercias, Subsidio, Pila, Escusado*: in so much, that of ten he taketh at the least fve: and one Prelate payeth more vnto him then 2000 labourers, or 4000 Gentlemen. See then how liberall he is to the Clergy: and by the meanes of these feece of his sheepe, hee buildeth vp Monasteries and other Churches, and endoweth them with great reuenues. Moreouer, who is he that hath medled with setting to sale the Townes and Castles which were of the iurisdiction and vassals of the Church? It is your great friend *Philip*,

Brunhault
caused ten
kings of France
to be put to
death.

Gaguin.

See the mean-
ing of these
words a little
after.

whom you account so vertuous and so Catholike.

The Translator.

Tercias, is the third part of the rent which a Prelate receiveth yeerely out of his Benefice or Spirituall living.

Subsidio: is an ouerplus and certaine summe which he payeth out of the two third parts which remaine, and of other reuenues appertaining to his estate.

Pila: is that summe, which he taketh of all the Parish Churches in Spaine: namely of euery Parishioner, that is, of them that are of any wealth, he taketh the tithes or tenth part. And some of the regular persons, who doe possesse any heritages in the same Parish, doe helpe to pay this tribute after the rate. The Regulars themselves doe pay tithes also of all that which they possesse, euen to the Apples, Oranges, and other fruits of their Gardens.

Escusado: is a certaine summe which the Clergy, both Ecclesiastical and Regular persons, because they may not beare armes, doe pay vnto the King Catholike, so he excuseth in that behalfe.

Obiection.

I know well, you will reply vnto me, and alledge, that the rents of the Churches of Spaine are so great and excessive, that although the Prelates doe pay vnto their King the one halfe of them, yet they doe all of them still continue and remaine rich; because there be some Prelates in Spaine, which haue greater reuenues yeerely then 50 or 60 Prelats in France. Hereunto I answer: that although it be so, yet his Catholike Maiesty may not spoile the Church of her goods, which Princes, and others Catholike and deuout persons haue giuen vnto her. And if the dowry of any Damotell or maiden be priuiledged, how much more ought that so to be, which is giuen to God, and to our Lady, and to the Saints: who (as Histories doe specifie) haue foughten valiantly and really, and haue beene seene in sundry battels personally, doing of great miracles? And therefore seeing that his Catholike Maiesty doth take away from the Churches

Answer.

ches that which is giuen them, for the causes and reasons by vs alledged, he committeth fraud and sacriledge, which may be an occasion, that hee himselfe may happen ere he die, or his successors for him to repay the same againe. For this cause did *Nebuchadnezzar* wander vp and downe for many yeeres in the fields in the shape of a brute beast: and *Balthazar* his sonne saw that horrible vision of a hand writing vpon a wall his future death and destruction. *Ananias* and *Saphira* his wife fell downe dead at the feete of Saint *Peter*. We haue many examples touching this matter in the holy Scriptures, and many more in prophane Writers: and there is a great number of them euen in Spaine, especially in Castile. The Queene *Dame Viraca*, the Daughtèr of *Alphonso* the sixt Emperour, going out of the Church of *S. Isidore* with the riches which shee had taken thence, fell downe dead at the Church doore. *Don Alphonso* the warriour her Husband, for the like matter was vanquished by the Moores in the battell of *Fraga*, and was neuer more scene nor heard of aiter that time, neither alieue nor dead. The King *Don Henry* brother germane to the mother of Saint *Lewes*, being but a ladde, was slaine by the hazard of a brick or tile falling vpon him within *Placentia*. Some doe attribute this his death to the carelesnesse of the said *Henry*, for not prouiding a remedy (albeit hee were in his tender and younger yeeres,) aginst the extortions done vpon the Churches, by the children of the Count *Don Nugno de Lara*, who were Tutors to the said *Henry*, and Gouvernours of his Realme: and they doe affirme, that all those disasters and mishaps which Histories doe write of, did happen by the occasion of those his Tutors. These examples may suffice to proue vnto you the abuse and inualidity of your reply, and to shew that your *Philip* by laying of his hands vpon the Ecclesiasticall liuings, (as he hath done) cannot excuse himselfe of fraud, sacriledge, and tyranny; and so by this meanes (with an ill conscience) hee stealeth the

Daniel 4.

Daniel 5.
Acts 5.

The eommon
Histories of
Spaine.

the sheepe of another man, notwithstanding that hee giue againe the feete for God sake. And yet ouer and aboue all this, I doe assure you euen in the faith of an honest man, that if there were no other vices in the person of King *Philip* saue onely these two, to wit, tyranny and cruelty, and if hee were a true obseruer of the rest of the Law and faith Catholike, I would excuse you of your blindnesse and inueiglement: but you may hold this for a certainty, that his abominable workes will proue any man whomsoever to be an egregious lyer, that shall be so hardy as to defend that hee is no such manner of man. For this enemy and generall persecuter, vnder the cloake and shadow of a Catholike, hath done more mischief, and committed more insolencies against the Church of Rome, then all the other persecuters that euer went before him. Will you see the prooffe how you are abused, and how bad and vile a Christian hee is? Open your eye liddes, and you shall see how he bewrayeth it, euen as if a man should with his finger point at it. In the yeere 1575, this King Catholike being aduertised that the late *Monsieur* did make great preparation to enter with a mighty Army into Flaunders, hee beganne very secretly to sound certaine of the principall Lords and chiefe heads of the pretended reformed Religion, within the Prouinces of Languedoc, Foix, Bearne, Bigorre, and of the Countrey *de la Bort*, neere to Guipuscua, ouer against Fontaraby, to know if they would vnder his protection defend their liberty, promising them, that he would cause an Army of *Almaines* to descend against the most Christian King, and that hee would giue them five hundred thousand crownes ycerely to that effect, and for the entertainment of the Ministers of their Churches: beating into their eares, and making them belecue, that the enterprise of Flaunders, which the Duke of Alanson had vndertaken, did not tend to any other end, but onely to entrap, and to make another massacre of them, as had lately beene done vnder the King *Charles* the ninth his brother, when the Lord *de la Noue* was taken,

Offers made
for King *Philip*
to those of
the reformed
Religion, to
make warre
against the
late French
King.

taken, and the Lord *de Inoy* was put to death betweene two Tables, with many other Lords and Gentlemen. He had the better meanes and opportunity to treat with the said Churches, by reason there were many Catholikes mingled amongst the Huguenots: all of which did governe, and demeaned themselves according to the conventions and agreements made betweene them: and a great Lord of France, and the Lord *Monsieur de Chastillon*, howbeit that afterwards this vnion was broken. Some of their chiefe heads did give eare vnto those perswasions of *Philip*, insomuch that there were great preparations made for a strong & mighty warre against them, which succeeded not long after, when Brouage was taken. Besides, the said Lords and heads of the reformed Religion, with some of their Ministers, being entered into a great ialousie of the most Christian King now reigning, (who was then King of Nauarre) and of the late *Monsieur* the Prince of Condé, they resolved secretly within the Towne of Montauban, to call in strangers of their Religion to be their Protectours and defenders. And to that effect, they sent one of their Ministers into Almaine, feining that they sent him vnto the pretended reformed Church of Metz. Notwithstanding the matter was discovered by one of the principall Lords, newly drawne to be of their Religion, who had taken great indignation against a Minister of his owne, and because hee had beene an assistant at the same Councell, he thought he had beene of the same minde also: and did therefore reprove him, saying: that he greatly marvelled how he could suffer such a quill to be thrust through his nose, without laughing at it. But the Minister excused himselfe, assuring him that he knew nothing of that matter. But that was an occasion, that the practise brake off: besides, that they were not well agreed amongst themselves, whom they should choose to bee their chiefe and protectour: some of them desired the Duke *Casimir*: others would haue England: and some others the Duke of Sauoy: who all that time did not know any thing at all of that

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which

which passed betweene him and the Ministers. But after that, at such time as the young Duke (now presently ruling) came to succeed his Father, he being aduertised thereof, sent vnto the King of Nauarre, to demaund the Lady his sister for his wife: one named *Sernin* was dispatched as the messenger to that effect, and after him a Viscount; who seeing great difficulty in the demaund, went by Bearne into Spaine, where he treated the mariage of the Infant *D. Katherine*, at this day Dutchesse of Sauoy: which mariage *Don Amadis* the bastard brother of the said Duke afterwards effected. This mariage came well to purpose for *Philip*, because by this meanes hee assured himselfe of the Duke, that he should attempt nothing in Portugall: where he knew full well, that after the death of King *Henry*, there was great diuision amongst the Portugals, for that some would haue had the Lady *Katherine* Dutchesse of Bragan-
cia: others the Lord *Don Anthonio*: and in a manner all well neere not liking to haue any of those which were named, would haue had the said Duke of Sauoy, being the Graund-childe of a Daughter of Portugall, who (as the report is) if hee had gone thither during the inter-raigne in Portugall, at the time of that dissention, and by reason of their vnwillingnesse to admit the one or the other of those aboue named, he had without doubt beene receiued of all the Portugals.

To proceede, and to shew you yet more plainely what manner of man this is, for whose lous you doe euen seeke your owne destruction, and in whose seruice you are so forward and so diligent: I will adde here somewhat more touching this matter, for it is not possible to vtter all that may be spoken to that effect. It is not long since, that for to follow the steppes of some other good and godly Catholikes as him selfe is, he rendered the City of Arzile to *Maley Hamet* King of Marocco, against the will and liking of the Portugals which did inhabit it, who had bound themselves without his aide to defend it. It was supposed by
all

all the Christians, that *Philip* surrendered the City, because hee was assured that hee should not be able to defend it against the puissance of Infidels, for so did he himselfe cause it to be giuen out, saying: That it was a lesse mischiefe to render it without hazarding the lines and goods of the Inhabitants, then by keeping it, to put them all in daunger. But therein hee abused them most maliciously, for the true cause why this good Catholike rendered this City of Christians vnto the Moores, was because he had promised it vnto their King, vpon condition he should not lend two hundred thousand Crownes to *Don Anthonio* his cousin german, King of Portugall. The which summe the Moore had before promised to lend him at the intercession of England: and for this reason had the said *Don Anthonio* sent his sonne *Don Christopher* to Marocco to be there in hostage for the said summe of money, who remained there by the space of foure yeeres. You see now what a good and Catholike Christian deede this man did, whom you doe so defend for a most singular Christian and Catholike, who to hinder a King, a farre better Catholike then himselfe, from recouering of his owne, doth not onely tyrannically detaine anothers right, but doth make it away from Christians, to giue it vnto Infidels. What answer doe you make hereunto? I make your selues the Iudges: wherefore then will you not acknowledge the irreligion of this man, to whom you are so affectionate, and the great malice and peruerseness of him, whom you loue so well? Consider and know, that you are taken and bound with a grosse chaine: and that *abissus* *abissum inuocat*: One depth calleth another. And I say to you, one fault draweth on an hundred thousand after it. Of the maintaining and defending of an euill and wicked man, ensueth commonly a finister and peruerse iudgement of them which are good. This was well seene to be true and verified in the life time of *Don Anthonio*, and is yet still euen at this day. It is a shame to heare the abominations which the fauourers of this

The reason why Philip rendered the City of Arras to Muley Hamet.

Psalme 41.

pretended King Catholike haue heretofore spoken and giuen out, and doe not yet cease to speake of this poore Prince deceased. Some call him rebell, others terme him a runnigate, and a fugitiue from place to place, and from Countrey to Countrey : and some others call him a seditious person, an enemy to Christendome, an Infidell, and an hereticke. Can there be any thing more grievous, more sensible, more vniust, and more unworthy of a Christian ? How dare you (against all Lawes both diuine and humane) handle and vse so ill, a Prince, the sonne of the greatest Prince of his age: the graund-child of that great *Emanuel*, from whom the Princes of Europe doe glory to draw their descent and originall: a Prince sore pressed and turmoyled with afflictions, trouble and perplexity. He hath well shewed euen in his exile and banishment, that he was a better Catholike then your *Philip* his cousin : lesse ambitious, without choller, without hatred, and full of charity. For if he would haue beene content to recouer his Realme of Portugall, with more honourable meanes then your tyrant hath tyrannized ouer it, and doth yet tyrannously detaine it, hee might well haue done it. If he would haue accorded, that the English should haue had exercise of their Religion in Portugall, onely within their owne Houses and lodgings, the Earle of Leicester (whom some call the Count of Lest) would haue vndertaken to set him againe in possession of his Realmes and Seigniories. In the yeere one thousand five hundred eighty nine, when hee passed into Portugall with the English, amongst other Articles of agreement made betweene them, there was no other thing granted nor yeelded vnto them, but onely a licence or liberty for them to liue in Portugall, without being bound or compelled by the Ecclesiasticall Prelates, to repaire to the Churches to the seruice and exercise of the Catholikes. And in the same manner, as the Queene of England did then entertaine the straungers Catholickes, inhabiting within her Realme of England : euen so did hee accord and ordaine that the
English

English should finde the like vsage and entertainment in Portugall. And it may be, that if he would haue enlarged their libertie in this respect, the English would againe haue enforced their aboade in that Countrey. But he proceeded so like a Catholicke with them, that they had a kinde of distrust, and tooke occasion to suspect him. The king of Marocco at this day now raigning, (of whom wee haue lately spoken) sent an Embassadour into England, to intreat him, touching the deliuering of Portugall from her tyranny: offering him to make present payment of 100 thousand Crownes at London, for the prouiding of 100 sayle of shippes to passe into Barbary, from whence he promised to embarke, and to passe with him in person, and also to set at liberty about seuen or eight thousand Portugalls, whom he held in captiuitie, and which were good souldiers, and with them and the principall horse of Barbary, to take land and set foote in Spaine, and to put him in possession of his Realme. But *Don Anthonio* would not accept those his offers, because hee would giue no occasion to the Moores, (namely those Moores that are baptized and liue as Christians in Arragon, Valentia, Murcia, and other quarters of Spaine, where the Moore did assure himselfe to finde 60 thousand men at his deuotion) there to rebell, and to worke the misery and calamity of the Christians. This was a more daungerous matter, and would haue beene more burthensome and chargeable to King *Philip*, then to the King *Don Anthonio*, with whome *Muley Hamet* desired to haue made a peace very beneficiall and aduantageous to the Realmes of Portugall: but *Don Anthonio* refused all, onely moued thereunto of a godly Catholicke zeale. Now shew me (my Masters) where or when your *Don Philip* ener did as much: He hath made great promises to *Don Anthonio*, to the intent he might cause him to renounce his right, which he had in Portugall, by reason of his election. He offered to make him Viceroy of Naples, with 400 thousand Crownes of

The cause why
Don Anthonio refused the
meanes to recouer his
Realme.

Offers of king
Philip to Don
Anthonio.

Don Antho-
nio full of
conscience.

Most christian
speeches of
D. Antonio.

of that kingdome. Moreouer he would haue giuen him 500 thousand Crownes to pay his debts, and to defray the charge of going to take that Gouvernement vpon him: And that hee would bee bound to restore all those Portugals to their former estates, whose goods he had taken and confiscated for following of his partie. And that hee would aduaunce and recompence such as did serue and attend him actually: and that he would pardon all in generall. Whereunto *Don Antonio* made him this answer: God defend that he should commit so great a fault: and that he had rather die in an hospitall, then to doe a thing so heinous, wicked, vniust, and against his conscience, for that the lawes had taught him thus much, that he might not contract for that which appertained to another. For, when he was chosen at Sautaren, he had then sworne, and afterwards againe at Lisbon (when he was confirmed King by the deputies of the cities and townes of Portugall, which came thither to take their oath for their allegiance, and to doe him homage) that he should neuer accord nor fall to any agreement with the enemy, without leauing Portugall in her full and perfect libertie. This may serue to shew how much better a Catholike, and how lesse ambitious the King *Don Antonio* was then King *Philip*. And as touching his choller and his hatred or charitie, that may appear by this which followeth, in that there haue beene many men who haue oftentimes offered to *Don Antonio* to kill *Philip*: neuerthelesse he would neuer giue them any entertainment, alledging that Kings are the annoynted of the Lord: and although (quoth he) my cousin King *Philip* blinded by ambition and tyrannie, do persecute me, and do seeke to take my life from me, yet will not I be content nor consent for all that, that any man for the loue of me, should attempt to take his life. And whosoever shall dare or aduenture to do it, let him looke to himselfe that he come not into my hands. For though his sins do so blind and bewitch him, as that they make him shew himselfe a *Saul* against me yet

yet I for my part do protest before God, to shew my selfe a *David* towards him. A certaine man on a day demanding of him a fauour for the good newes which hee brought him (for he had assured him that King *Philip* was dead) he answered him halfe in choller; My good friend, doest thou not know who it is of whom thou speakest vnto me? hee is my cousin germane, bring me newes that I haue eight or ten thousand faithfull men, and well armed with good and sage Captaines, and all things necessary to restore Portugall to libertie, and I promise thee in the word of an honest man, to make thee so rich and so honourable in my Realme, as no Gentleman shall go beyond thee: go, go, learne to know the disposition of Princes Now my masters, what thinke you of these examples? do you now see what reason I haue to say, that the King *Don Antonio* was more Catholike, and lesse ambitious then the king *Philip*, & that he was a man without choller & hatred, but contrarywise full of charity? I pray you therefore for the loue of God, that from henceforth you would resolue your selues, with a sound and vncorrupted iudgement, & a pure conscience, and without any inueiglement or indiscreet zeale, to embrace the good, and to reiect the euill. If he be dishonest, luxurious & licentious, I say nothing in that behalfe: for that is not the butt or ende of our treatise: and I belecue, that the Prince of Orange in his Apologie, hath said something touching that matter: and the infamous rumour and detestable report which hath runne, and doth yet runne throughout the world, doeth say much to that effect. God giue him the grace to know himselfe, and to conuert, and to render to euery man his owne before his death, better then he hath restored that which (as is reported) his father at the hower of his death commaunded him to render and to restore againe.

Now, most humbly I beseech your Maiesties to hold me excused, for hauing beene so large in this matter: because I haue not done it without good cause, knowing that to come to the butte and end of my purpose, it was very needfull, and

and did much import me, to haue sayd that which I haue done. This is a thing proper and conformable to the law of God, and agreeable to the nature of charitie, to bring them into the right way, that wander and goe astray, and to discharge and cleare the innocent, though it bee to the damage and displeasure of the wicked.

Most excellent Princes,

If the reasons which I haue alleadged, and the histories which I haue quoted, bee not sufficient to perswade you, and to vrge you speedily with one accord, and consent to make a good and gallant army, and to send it into Spaine, not onely to make present resistance against the force of the Castillian, to breake the course of his desseignes, to beate downe his pride, and to ruinate his puissance: but also to bridle him in the time to come, I shall bee enforced to beleue, that God hath forsaken and abandoned you, because of your sinnes, both publick and particular: and that he hath depriued you of all iudgement, and vnderstanding, to the intent you should not see that which concerneth you so neare and which is aboue all thinges, most needefull and necessary for your safety. In such sort that being so inueigled, and (as it were) wholly amazed, you will come to fall into a bottomlesse gulse of most blinde darkenesse, and consequently into vtter destruction and totall ruine: Conceiue (I beseech you) and comprehend that which I say vnto you, and consider it intentiuely, for in that you haue within these few years past contemned or neglected to make a voyage into Portugall, and haue not vouchsafed to yeeld neither succour nor fauour vnto the Portugals your friends, you haue therefore at this time in Fraunce the Castillians your enemies. From hencefoorth it shall be better for you and more expedient, that the warre be made in Spaine, and not in Fraunce: and you shall receiue farre lesse discommoditie in destroying the territories of the Castillians with fire and sword, then to see the townes and territories of your owne taken, wasted, and spoyled.

The

The Translators encouragement to these most
worthie Princes.

The inward affection which I haue vnto your Maiesties the
loyalty which I owe vnto your seruices. and the desire which
I haue to see the augmentation of the good and prosperitie of
Fraunce: besides my age, and long experience in matters of
estate, do giue me the assurance and hardinesse to aduertise, you
by the way of something concerning the matter here spoken of by
the Author. I had of late certaine intelligence by letters from
some of my friends, that the King of Tartaria now reigning
(Whome the auncient Historiographers and Cosmographers do
call, Magnum Can, Regem regum, & Dominum dominan-
tium; that is, The great Cham, King of Kings, and Lord of
Lords) who is said to be a most prudent, brave, and warlike
Prince, hath determined for the great deuotion which he bea-
reth to his great Prophet Mahomet (Whose sect he professeth)
to passe with great forces to Mecha in Arabia, and there
to seaze vpon the bodie of his said Prophet. This Sophie of Per-
sia being ascertained of this enterprise (whom the Author in
this his treatise nameth Xatama) presently dispatched away
certaine Embassadors to Constantinople, to the great Seignior
of the Turkes, with whom for these manie yeares of late he hath
had great warres, and continuall enmitie, to pray him that hee
would ioine his forces with his, to the end they might both of
them ioyntly resist and withstand the puissance of the Tarta-
rian, shewing him also the danger which both the one and the o-
ther of them might incurre to the losse of their estates; by hauing
to their neighbour an enemy so sage and puissant. I would to God
your Maiesties would now consider, that if these considerations
do fall into the understanding of a Barbarian, how much more
ought they not to bee wanting in men of iudgement and under-
standing: and I would your Maiesties would ponder aduisedly,
how much it importeth you not to suffer the greatnesse of the
Castilian your next and nearest neighbour. Ioyne your forces
with your Confederates, and take in hand this enterprise, in such

sort as you may denide the power and monarchie of the enemies, I doe not say that you should send to pill & ransacke them which are under the yoke and command of the enemy, God forbid: for this would turne as much to his good and profite, as to our hurt and damage. because by our pilling and facking of them, wee shall give them cause (Who now hate him deathlie, and can not abide not onely him, nor so much as to heare him named) for the defence of themselves, and to bee reuenged of their damages, and our extorsions done upon them, to ioyne themselves with our enemy, and to serue him with loue and fidelitie: and contrarywise, to prosecute and pursue vs with extreame hatred, doing their worst that they may against vs: in such sort, that wee losing our friends, who now desire to assist vs, shall purchase them for our enemies; and they will aspire nor seeke nothing more then our ruine and destruction. On the contrarie, in steed of mortall enemies which he hath now of them, shall finde them to be his friends to ayde and assist him, to the maintainance of his ambition and tyrannie. And this is that which hee doth seeke and desire. (shewing himselfe in the meane while like a most wylie Foxe) and to this effect he will not spare to give money liberally, because of the good that may redound thereof unto him. This is a thing most certaine, that hee desireth extreame to see them made poore and ruinated whom he feareth, &c. I am fully perswaded that fewe words then these will suffice, to give your Maiesties to understand, how much it importeth you to preserue and defend people that are malcontent and afflicted in miserie, and how much mischief may ensue by giving them cause of scandall and offence. That which we ought to doe in this case, is to trauell by all meanes possible to set foot in Spaine, and to fortifie our selues within it, gathering and drawing unto vs such as are scandalized and ill handled by the enemy, and to receiue them with humanitie and curtesie: so did William the Conquerour gaine the Realme of England; the which also in the same manner Henric the seventh did afterwards get likewise. Many others haue done the like: yea, and your Maiesties also, who if you shall
 seize

seize upon some places in Spaine, you shall make your owne peace with honour, profite and advantage. This which I say, is not to contradict that which many desire, without considering what is expedient and necessarie to a matter of so great importance: but rather to shew, how your Maiesties may doe without any losse and detriment, and to the best profit and advantage of your Realmes, yea and of all the common weale of Christendome. The holy King and Prophet Dauid, as a most politike and wise man, counselleth vs to pray to God for those things which are needfull to the peace of Ierusalem, that is, the Church militant, & consequently, wee are commanded to do it. Primo, rogare quæ ad pacem sunt Ierusalem: Pray for the peace of Ierusalem. Secundo, Fiat pax, Secondly, Let peace be (but the world shall neuer haue peace till Spaine be deuided) in virtute tua. That is to say, in such sort, as we may not loose one iote of our estate, honour, reputation and integritie, and other things of like nature and qualitie, whereof I will surcease to speake any further, because I will not trouble the discourse of the Authour.

And for my part, surely and in my conscience I am halfe in a doubt whether I should laugh or weep at this so great and extreame a blindnesse: neither more nor lesse then *Hanniball* did seeing the destruction of Carthage. And if it bee well considered, that this laughter proceedeth not but of the great griefe and sorrow which I haue at my heart, I beleeue assuredly that it would bee to more purpose then all your teares, cries, and lamentations: and I will then say of you as *Hanniball* said of the Carthagenians: You weepe, you sigh, and you lament to see your townes taken, your countrey ransacked & spoyled, your children, brethren, kinsfolkes, countrimen and friends, slaine and killed, and your goods wasted and lost: you know all of you how to remedy it, and confesse that you know it: and yet there is none of you that will resolue, nor shew himselfe forward, for the publike & common good, as well as for the particular good of euerie one: and there is none that either speaketh or talketh of it, saying, let vs free our countrey, let vs succour our

friends, let vs cast out and driue away our enemies: I will doe this or that, I will giue thus much for the publike and common good of my countrie. Are you so straight laced for so small a matter, which should redeeme you, and set you altogether in peace, rest, and quietnesse? and which should deliuer your friends, who will serue you as a rampier or bulwarke, and will cast your enemies out of your prouinces, and will driue them into a corner, where they shall feare you more then they doe now scorne and contemne you? I am sore afraide, that before many daies be past, you will confesse you wept hitherto but for trifles, in comparison of that which is to come. I pray God you doe not follow the steps of *Antiochus*, who seeing himselfe vanquished by the Romanes for want of following the counsell of *Hanniball*, was greatlie astonished, but all too late. And hee then esteemed *Hanniball* not onely sage and prudent, but also, euen as a Prophet; for that he had foretold him all that which afterwards happened vnto him. Awake therefore I pray you, and consider well vppon that which I counsell you for your good: and that he which doth aduise you to it, doeth desire it as your poore seruitour and friend, who hath as great a care of your safeties & preservation, as of his owne: and who hath often foretold, and (as it were) prophesied (as the principall counsellors of estate, both in Fraunce & in England can well testifie) both all this which is come to passe in this behalfe, and hath also foreshewed all that which hath beene lost in Fraunce, and to what end and issue things will grow at the last, if there be not some better order taken in these affaires. And I beleue, that if they were demanded the question, they will tell you, how I haue passed away my time with as great griefe and discontentment, as a man possibly might do, to see the enemy daily to prosper, and to waxe more proud and arrogant by your owne proper sufferance, consent, and wilfulnesse: & for this cause, I am in a manner wholly resolved, to leaue and abandon the conuersation of men, & to retire & withdraw my

my selfe into some solitary mountaine. Notwithstanding, because I know and am acquainted with all that hath be-
falne for these 50 yeeres last past in the greatest part of
Europe, I doe therefore tell you, as one that hath had expe-
rience of these matters, that as yet you may recover (if you
will) all that which hitherto you haue lost, and both deliuer
your friends and bridle your enemies. And you may take
such order, that the time to come shall be more happy and
fortunate vnto you, then the time already past hath beene.
And moreouer, I doe assure you, that sithens the losse of
great part of Christendome wonne by the Turke, the late
losse of the most part of Germany, the hereditary possession
of the King of Bohemia, all Switzerland, with the great
hazard of losing all the Netherlands, who are now struiuing
for breath against the King of Spaines mighty powers now
in the field, (which I for my part doe thinke to haue procee-
ded from the very hand of God, as of your louing Father,
who by a fatherly loue doth chastise you, to the end you
should awaken you out of your security and negligence)
I haue beene euer since resolved to set downe in writing,
that which I haue so often pronounced by word of mouth,
to so many persons of speciall marke and quality, before
that euer they did entreat me thereunto. And this is the
cause, that if this my writing doe not produce that publike
good, and that effect which I desire, I protest that from
henceforth I will for euer hold my peace and be silent. Ne-
uerthelesse, I most humbly beseech your Christian Maiesties
and all the Princes and Potentates of Europe, and all the
great Lords and Officers of the Crownes of England and
of Fraunce, that it would please you to descend into your
selves, and at your leisure according to your accustomed
prudence and wisdom, to consider that good fortune and
felicity doth not consist so much in the conquest and subdu-
ing of great Seignories and large dominions, for the time
present, with an intent to leaue the same to your successors:
but rather to assure, confirme, and preserue them for the time

to come to your children and posterity : to the intent that when it shall please God to call you hence, they may quietly and peaceably enjoy them in peace and tranquillity, without any trouble, disquiet, or hinderance. For it is a farre greater vertue, to preferue and keepe that which is gotten, then to get and purchase new things daily.

Non minor est virtus quam quærere, parâ tñeri.

The poore Pilgrime beaten by Time, and pefecuted by Fortune.

P. Ol.

I am refolued to make warre vpon the Castillian: wherein if you also will beare a part, assure your selfe, you may account me as one of your most faithfull and surest friends. But if you once grow to any termes of peace and amity with him, then seeke you some other, with whom ye may deliberate vpon that matter.

AN

AN EXPLICATION OF THE PILGRIME VPON

THE PROVERB: IF THE COCKE

*rell had not come, the Cock had not bene taken. And
of the loyaltie of Auila and Simanchas in
Castile: and of Celorico, and the
Castell of Coimbre in
Portugall.*

*Item, What the diuersitie is betweene the King of Castile
and of Spaine: and Who they bee, whom wee call
Castillians, and What is understood by Cities and
Townes.*



*Enry the fourth, King of Castile, (of
whom wee haue before spoken) being
at the point of death, named foure
Executors of his Testament, to go-
uerne the Realme after his death, and
to marrie his daughter the Ladie Iane:
two of which Executors (to wit) Don*

*If the Cocke-
rell had not
come, the
Cock had not
bene taken.*

*Aluaro de Estuymga Duke de Arc-
ualo: and Don Diego Lopez Pacheco, Marquis de Ville-
na, ioyning with the Archbishop of Toledo, named
Don Alphonso Carrillo, Don Bertrand de la Cueva, Duke
de Albuquerque, the Maister of Calatraua: Don Rodri-
go Telles Giron Countie de Ppegne: Don Iohn Telles Giron
his brother, Marquisse of Calis, Don Alphonso de A-
guilar, and manie other great Lords, with foureteene
Cities of Castile, sent vnto Don Alphonso the Affri-
can King of Portugall, praying him, that he would take*

to

The battell of
Toro.

to wife the said Queene *Dame Iane*: the which the King of Portugall accepted, against the willes and good liking of many of his Realmes, who would not by any manner of meanes haue to doe nor meddle with the Castilians. By reason of this mariage, in the yeere 1475, *Don Alphonso* went into the Lands and Countrey of his said wife, where he had many encounters and combats with *Fernand* King of Arragon, the Husband of *Isabel* the pretended Queene of Castile, and with his people, till such time as they encountered in the battell which was foughten neere the City of Toro, in March 1476, which was ordered in this manner: the King *Alphonso* had made one Campe of the Lords and Nobles of the Realmes of Castile and Leon, with some Portugals: the Prince *Don Iuan* his sonne, (who was come to the succours of his Father) had made another Campe of his Portugals, without any Castilians mingled amongst them: The King *Fernand* made also two campes, the one of the Castilians, which tooke his part and his wiues: and the other of Arragonois, the Catalans, the Valencians, and such other peoples and Nations, as were the subiects of his owne Realmes and Seignories, whereof himselfe was Lord and commaunder. *Fernand* encountring with *Alphonso*, defeated and ouercame him: and hauing taken his *Guydon* royall, made him forsake the field, and to betake himselfe to flight. But the Prince *Don Iuan* gaue in and charged so resolutely vpon the Castilians, that he made them to flie, and hauing slaine many of them vpon the place, he tooke a great number of prisoners; and himselfe remaining whole and entire with his Forces, did with singular hardinesse and magnanimity assaile *Ferdinaud* also, the vanquisher of his Father, and making him to flie, did recouer againe the *Guydon* royall, which the said *Alphonso* his Father had lost. The History of Portugall saith, that the Prince did great honour vnto a Knight which saved the said *Guydon*, and gaue him an yeerely rent or annuity of five thousand Marauedis, (which was at that time no small re-
uenue,

uenue, in comparison of that it is at this pay) being about 12 duckats and a halfe, allowing 400 Marauedis to each duckat, and gratified him with sundry other gifts and great honours. *Fernand* wrote vnto *Isabel* the successe of this battell, giuing her to vnderstand, that if the Prince had not come, the King his Father had beene taken. Whereupon he returned him this answer : that, if the Cockerell had not come, the Cocke had beene taken; and hereof came that prouerbe which wee told you. *Guaribay* setteth downe these last words, and confelleth the very truth. Neuerthelesse, touching the residue of the History, he reporteth a thousand vntruths, which may be verified by the History which *Damian de Goyes* hath written of this Prince *Don Iuan*; in the which he saith, that the Prince would haue kept and remained in the field where the battell was foughten, by the space of three dayes, if the Archbishop of Toledo had not dissuaded him, who with great instance and earnest entreaty caused him to retire into the City, because the weather was extreame cold, and his men were sore traueled and wearied, and had beene ouer-watched for want of sleepe. And he said vnto him : Sir, your Highnesse hath kept the Field long enough, these three houres you haue staid here, are as good as three dayes, and one houre is as much as three. Some write, that in memory of this victory, King *Edward* the fourth of England, sent vnto this Prince the order of the Garter. And the Castillians had such ill successe continually against the Portugals, that (to grace themselves, because the King *Alphonso* was defeated and forsooke the field : (though his sonne held the field, and remained vanquisher) yet they shame not to attribute vnto themselves the honour and victory of this battell.

Damianus de Goyes in the life of the Prince Don Iuan.

Alphonso Raymond the onely sonne of *Vrraca*, the daughter of *Alphonso* the sixt, surnamed the Emperour, was borne in *Auila*, a City of Castile, and was nourished and kept by them of the City, during the raigne of *Alphonso* King of Aragon, called the warriour, together with his wife *Vrraca*

Auila.

Queene of Castile, Mother of the said *Raymond*. Now there were great reuolts and troubles in Castile, in the which they of *Auila* following the party of *Raymond* against the said *Alphonſus* his Father in Law, did ſo much, that the Father in Law was diſpoſſeſſed of the gouernment, and the Sonne in Law was installed in the ſiege royall. And for this cauſe, this word hath paſſed for a common prouerbe : The fidelity of *Auila* : and, *Auila* is for the King.

Simancas.

Touching *Simancas*, you are to vnderſtand, that in the yeere 1463, *Henry* the 4 raigning in Caſtile, at the perſwaſion of ſome of the Princes, many other Cities and Townes did reuolt from him, and grew into a rebellion, which they called, *The league of the Princes* : and they entituled themſelues, Princes of the League. And in imitation hereof did *Philip* King of Caſtile, in the yeere 1582, baptize the League, which hath beene the occaſion of ſo many miſchiefes and afflictions, of which Fraunce hath eſpecially taſted, and had experience for theſe nine yeeres laſt paſt. This is that League which hath wrought ſo great damage to the Church of Rome, and hath ſo ruined and pulled it downe, as it ſhall neede many hundreds of yeeres to reſtore it againe. But to our matter: in proceſſe of time, the Souldiers of the Kings Army, being greatly augmented, and their puiſſance much increaſed, they came to the City of Toro : and the King hauing aduertilement, that they of the League were iſſued out of Valladolid, and that hauing broken downe and razed the wälles of Begnaſleur, they were gone to Simancas, he ſent preſently *Iohn Hernandes Galiude* his Captaine Generall, with 3000 Horſes, for the ſuccours of the Towne : which being entred into Simancas, were beſieged by them of the League, who notwithstanding, were more afraid then thoſe whom they had beſieged. The Lackies within the Towne (who ſhewed themſelues to be of a wonderfull good courage) hauing aſſembled themſelues one day in a great number, and mocking thoſe that had beſieged them, did make a picture, which represented the Archbi-

Archbishop of Toledo; whom (because he was a Reb-
gainst his King and Lord) they called *Don Opas*, the bro-
ther of the Count *Julian*, who caused the Moores to enter
into Spaine against the King *Rodericke*. After which, one
of the Lackies being appointed for a Iudge, sate him selfe
downe on the iudgement seat, commanding the prisoner
to be brought before him, (which was the picture of the
Archbishop) and he gaue iudgement vpon him in this man-
ner: For as much as *Don Alphonso Carillo* Archbishop of
Toledo, following the steppes of the Bishop *Don Opas* the
destroyer of Spaine, hath beene a Traytor to his King and
naturall Lord, rebelling against him with his places and
Fortresses, and with the money which he put into his hands
to doe him seruice. For these causes, hauing seene and con-
sidered of his deserts by his triall, wherein hath appeared
his wicked practises, and felonious offences, we doe there-
fore condemne him to be burned; and that he be first trayled
and drawne through the streetes and publike places of Si-
mancas: and that in the execution thereof, the common
cryer shall cry and proclaime with a loud voice: This is the
iustice commanded to be done, namely, that this cruell *Don*
Opas shall be burnt for his offence and trespassse; because
hauing receiued diuers places, fortresses, and monies of his
King, hee hath notwithstanding revolted and rebelled a-
gainst him.

Judgement
given by the
Lackies a-
gainst the
Archbishop of
Toledo.
Guar. lib. 17.
cap. 14.

Quien tal haze, que tal pague.

That is to say,

So doe, so haue.

The iudgement being pronounced: another Lackey ta-
king the picture between his armes with an open cry, threw
it forth of the Towne, hauing in his company more then
three hundred Lackies, and immediately two of their com-
pany made a great fire to burne it, not farre from the campe
of the enemy, who looked on whilest they were doing of it;
and whilest the picture was in burning, all the Lackies to-
gether with open throat cryed and sang:

*The Spanish Pilgrime, or
Esta es Simanca,
Don Opas Trahidor,
Y no Penastor.*

Which is to say :

*This is Simanca,
(Don Opas, O thou Traitor)
And not Penastor.*

With many other speeches to that purpose. Which song of theirs was for a long time after vsed in Castile, and was commonly sung both in the Court, and throughout all that Realme.

Celorigo.

After that the Portugals had deposed *Don Sancho*, surnamed *Capelo* from his Realme and Kingdome, *Don Alphonso* his brother (who was then Count of Bologne vpon the Sea) was choen Gouvernour of Portugall by the same Portugals. This election (which they made, together with the deposition of the said *Sancho*, was approued and confirmed by Pope *Innocent* the 4, in a Councell held at Lyons : which was the cause that the said *Alphonso* went from thence into Portugall with Letters of fauour from the said *Innocent* the fourth, to the peoples of Portugall, praying and requiring them, that they would obey and submit themselues vnto him, and deliuer vnto him all the Cities, Townes, and Castles of the Realme in generall. Neuerthelesse some speciall persons there were, who (notwithstanding the commandement of the Pope, or the force of *Alphonso*) because they supposed that this did derogate from the loyalty which they ought vnto their King, would not yeeld thereunto, but opposed themselues against the said *Alphonso*, and would not render vnto him the Townes and Castles which had beene committed to their custody by their King *Sancho*, *Fernand Ruis Pacheco* Lord of Ferreyra was one of those, who being besieged by *Don Alphonso* within the Towne of *Celorigo*, and seeing himselfe in extreame necessity of victuals, there happened by great chance a Trowt to fall within the Castle from the talents of an Eagle, flying over the place: of the

the which he made a preſent to *Don Alphonſo* with two fine white manchets, to the intent he might make him believe that hee was very well provided of victuals, ſeeing he was not as yet without ſuch delicates and dainties. In ſomuch that the Governour *Alphonſo* beleevine that he had victuals ſecretly conveyed vnto him, raiſed his ſiege and departed. This deuife was imputed to *Fernand Ruſſ*, as a notable point of fidelitie in the ſervice of his Lord and maiſter: after whoſe death he did immediatly yeeld vp the ſaid towne to the ſaid *Alphonſo*, then elected and choſen King of Portugall (for that *Sancho* his brother had left no iſſue behinde him) without any other accord or condition.

The ſaid *Alphonſus* for the ſame reaſon beſieged the Caſtle of the citie of Coimbre, the Captaine whereof was called *Martin de Freyas*; who was brought to that neceſſitie, that both bread and water failed him, notwithstanding neither his owne wants, nor the great promiſes which *Alphonſus* made vnto his Captaine could draw him to render the Caſtle vnto him. *Don Alphonſo* conſidering the loyalty and conſtancie of his Captaine, and being deſirous to ſave his life, aſſoone as tydings were brought him that the King *Sancho* his brother was dead (who died during the ſiege) he ſent from his armie to the beſieged, both bread, fleſh, and other victuals neceſſarie for their ſuſtenance; and hee wrote vnto the Captaine that the King *Sancho* was dead and buried in the towne of Toledo; and he promiſed to giue him great honour and preferment, praying him that he would not any longer trouble himſelfe, but render vp the caſtle vnto him, ſeeing now his King was deceaſed, and that he was choſen King by the Portugals, and had beene received and confirmed in the kingdome by the oath of fidelitie and allegiance throughout the realme. The Captaine ſeeing the letter, demanded of the King onely ſo long time of truce, as was needfull for him to go into Caſtile, and to ſee with his owne eyes, if that report were true or not: which the

The Caſtle of
Coimbre,

King hauing graunted him, he tooke his iourney, and comming to Toledo, caused the sepulchre of King *Sancho* to bee opened, and hauing taken good notice and knowledge of him, hee bound the keyes of the Castle to his right arme, of the which hee caused an act and record to be made by a publike Notarie, whom he had there of purpose to that effect: And so returning from thence into Portugall, he rendred the castle to the King *Alphonso*. The King in token of so rare a constancie and fidelitie, restored to him againe the keeping of the said castle, and gaue him the place freely to him and to the heires of his bodie for euer, with this prerogatiue, that neither he, nor any of his posteritie, should bee bounden to doe homage for the same, either to himselfe or to the Kings his successors. *Freytas* hauing kissed the Kings hand, and yeelded most humble thanks to his Maiestie for so great a fauour, did not onely refuse to accept of the Kings gift, but forbad his sonnes, and all the issue that should descend of him, vpon paine of his curse, neuer to take charge, nor to vndertake the custodie and guard of any towne or castle, for which they should bee bounden to doe fealtie and homage vnto any Prince whatsoeuer. Thus you see, what is meant by *Auila*, *Simancas*, *Celorico*, & the castle of *Coimbre*, all which are notable examples most worthy to be considered, and may bee a shame to many men in this our age, wherein they make so small account & reckening of a vertue so rare and commendable. My maisters, put your hands, I pray you, into your bosoms, and see how they are full of leprosie: returne and consider well with your selues, and acknowledge your faults, for God hath alwaies his eares open to heare them that seeke vnto him for mercie.

The title of
the King of
Castile, and
of Spaine.

In the yeare
1594 at Paris.

Now as concerning the king of Castile, I would be very glad, that you would well vnderstand & conceiue what the meaning of this is, & wherof we haue already spoken somewhat; & is at large handled in that booke which Frier *Ioseph Texere* (a religious person of the order of *S. Dominicke*) hath made

made concerning the Genealogie of the most christian king: who is the very same person, that did preach, how we are bound to loue all men of whatsoeuer religion, sect or nation that they be, even the Castilians themselves: which Monke beeing a Portugall (it may bee) doth not fully know how much the Spanish nation is agreed to see and heare, that kin *Philip* should entitle himself king of Spaine (we speake nor meane not in this number the vulgar and rascall sort of Castilians, because they are perswaded that their king being so, they alone shall haue all the rule & gouernment of the world.) For there bee diuers other realons besides those which he alledgeth, which are of no small importance to let you know: that as they of Arragon & Nauarre are not altogether out of hope to see themselves yet one day deliuered from the tyrant (which may be also said of Portugall.) so they haue a desire likewise to preferue their monarchies entire, that is to say, the priuiledges, preheminences, prerogatiues, dignities, offices, customes, & language of their realmes: & it may be, that God of his diuine goodnes & mercy will permit one day, that there shalbe raised vp some *Moses* for the restoring of them to their liberty, for so also some haue written touching the children of Israell; that after their entry into Egypt, they did continually keep 3 things especially vncorrupted & in their first integrity: to wit, their language, which was the Hebrew tongue, one selfe same fashion of apparelling themselves, and the proprietie of the surnames of their Families. And in case his Christian Maiesty would resolve to draw & deliuer that realme of Nauarre from the tyranny of the Castilian, hee should finde a Constable & all other officers of the said realme, who would assist him, & doe their vttermost endeauors to serue him faithfully: to the intent they might remaine in their countrey with their charges & offices, vnder the obeisance of a naturall king, & not of a Castilian. And if the most excellent Duke of Lorraine, were disposed to restore, Arragon, Valentia, Catalonia, &c. he should haue an Admirall, & many officers of those realms

to

to accompany him: & they would hold & esteeme themselves for most happy & fortunate, to deliuer their cuntry frō the tyranny & yoke of a stranger, & to redeliuer it to a naturall & lawfull Prince. If the Portugals likewise would determine and resolute themselves to choose by election (as they haue right so to doe) some Prince or some other of the people either white, or negro (for it is most certaine, that to deliuer themselves of the tyranny of *Philp*, they would be content to receiue to their King the meanest negro of Guinee, if he be a Christian, and will liue in the Realme with them) they are fully perswaded, and they haue reason, that this would be a great help and furtherance to the accomplishment of their desires, to finde for their defence and preseruacion, a Constable of Portugall, a Marshall, and Admirall, and all other such like officers of the Realme: and their records and writings done in their owne tongue, the fashions of their garments, and the surnames of their families. Contrary-wise, if it be graunted and yeelded vnto *Philp*, that he may once take vpon him this title of King of Spaine, it is most certaine and sure, that he will make onely one house royall of all Spaine, with a Constable, Marshall, or Marshals, and Admirall, graund Maister, great Chamberlaine, maister of the Horse, and all other such like officers of the Realme, all which shall be called of Spaine generally, and they will call themselves also by the name onely of Spaniards, and so will vnite all of them into one onely bodie, which will turne to the great dammage and preiudice of the particular states and kingdomes of Spaine, and to the great profit and surety of *Philp* and his posteritie. Full little do strangers know of what importance this matter is: and thereof it commeth that they speake so fondly and foolishly when they talke thereof, which is a thing greatly to be blamed and reprehended in them: considering that it is against the law, which sayth, that it is a great inciuility for any man to iudge of that which hee doth not vnderstand. The nations of Spaine doe see very well what mischief this may bring vpon

Inciuite est de
re incognita
iudicare.

pon them: and therefore they doe resist and withstand it with so great force and vehemencie. The Castilian knoweth full well the great aduancement and assurance, which would hereof ensue to his estate, if he could reach so farre: and that is the cause, he is so earnest to get himselfe entitled king of Spaine. He is (as we haue before sayd) very expert and well seene in histories, as his predecessors were also before him: and by reading of them he hath learned that this is the most easie meane and readie way to command peaceably, and to gaine the affection of all the Spaniards. Histories do shew vs, how *Egbert* a valiant and magnanimous Prince, being chosen king of the realme of West Saxons in great Brittain (which Realme contained the prouinces of Cornewall, Deuon, Sommerfet, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Barkeshire: and trusting vpon his skill and knowledge in the art military, which hee had learned in Fraunce vnder *Charlemagne*, where he had beene banished for many years, he resolved to make himselfe King & Lord of all great Brittain, leauing Scotland apart. And beginning his enterprise, he first subdued the prouince of Wales, which is the strongest of all the rest. After which he wanne the Realmes of Kent, Mercia, Northumberland, and the Realme of the East Saxons, called Essex: hauing gotten this prouince, and those foure realmes, *Egbert* seeing himselfe now Lord of five, and that there now rested no more to conquer but the Realme of Suffex, so called of the South Saxons, and that of the East Saxons, called East Anglia, of whose forces he made no great reckening. And bethinking with himselfe how he might assure and secure these dominions and Seigniories vnto himselfe, he determined not onely to roote out and extinguish the name and memory of the Brittaines the ancient inhabitants of that Ile, but also gaine the good willes and affections of his subiects, by a new name, and so by that meanes to draw vnto himselfe the residue which remained yet vnconquered. To this effect and purpose he ordained and appointed, and by a perpetuall

Egbert king of
West Saxons
in England

Orrather
North Saxon
in Norfolk.

Egbert the
first king of
England.

edict commaunded, that from that day forwards all those seuen Realmes should bee named by one onely name England: and that all the inhabitants should name themselves Englishmen. And by this meanes hee came readily and fully to the ende of his desire. In imitation of this *Egbert*, *Fernand* the second king of Arragon, and the fift of that name, king of Castile, seeing himselfe Lord of the greatest part of Spaine: and that there rested no more for him to gaine saue onely Nauarre and Portugall, he employed all his forces and endeauours to obtaine from the Princes realmes, and prouinces of Spaine, that which they refused, to wit, that hee might entitle and write himselfe King of Spaine. With the like ambition and desire, *Philip* his great graund-child, pretendeth that the Realmes of Spaine, and now of late Portugall haue constantly resolutely denied him, and which you doe giue him so readily and so liberally. So that now I thinke you will perfectly vnderstand the cause wherefore *Philip* doeth write himselfe King of Castile and of Leon, &c. For so the nations of Spaine, and the Castilians themselves call him, howbeit that you doe make a iest and toy of it, not knowing how much it doeth import them so to do, and therefore I hope that from henceforth you will by these instructions both know your owne ignorance and correct this your fault and oversight.

Castilians
and Castile
what it meaneth.
New Castile
all those king-
domes, which
the kings of
Castile haue
gotten from
the Moores.
The particular
names of the
kingdomes of
new Castile: &
when they
were recou-
ered from the
Moores.
Toledo first set
at liberty, an-
no. 1086.

We call them Castilians, which are naturall and borne in the Realme of Castile, and in those Realmes which the kings of Castile (with the aide of the Kings of Nauarre, Arragon, and Portugall, & other Soueraigne Lords of Spaine) haue gotten and wrested out of the hands and possession of the Moores: all which Realmes wee name by one onely name, new Castile. Of these Realmes, that which was the shortest time in the power and puissance of the Moores was the kingdome of Toledo, which was restored to libertie by *Alphonso* the 6, called the Emperour, in the yeare 1086, hauing bin left vnto them, when Spaine was lost by King *Rodrick*, in the yeare 714, so that by this account To-
ledo

ledo the chiefe and metropolitan City of Spaine, was in the possession of the Infidels by the space of 372 yeeres. For this cause the City of Braga in Portugall, Metropolitan of the Realme of Galicia, and hauing beene alwayes maintained against the Moores by the Portugals, the Inhabitants thereof (who at the time when they builded it, were called Galli Bracchati) and where there haue beene Bishops successiuelly from the beginning of the primitiue Church euen till this time, did heretofore obtaine the primacy of Spaine, and shee doth yet so entitle her selfe, against the consent and liking of the Church of Toledo, which after it came to be restored to her liberty, did againe begin to reuine and take her former title, and the Archbishops of those places doe yet at this day dispute and contend, whether of them should haue the preheminence.

The reason wherefore Braga entitleth herselfe Primare of Spaine.

Cordua was in the power of the Moores by the space of 522 yeeres, for it was restored in the yeere 1236, the 29 of Iune, on the Feast of the Apostles *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*.

Cordua 1.

Murcia was in their possession by the space of 527 yeeres. For it was recovered in the yeere 1241, on which yeere also the Vniuersity of *Salamanca* was founded.

Murcia 3.
Vniuersity of Salamanca founded, Anno

Iaen was vnder the Moores 529 yeeres, and was restored in the yeere 1243.

1141,
Iaen 4.

Seuill hauing beene held by them for the space of 535 yeeres, was set at liberty in the yeere 1248.

Seuill 5.

Calis was vnder their commaund by the space of 555 yeeres, and was reestablished in the yeere 1269, in the time of *Jacob Aben Iuceph* King of Marocco.

Calis 6.

Algizira hauing beene in their subiection for 630 yeeres, was deliuered in the yeere 1344. For the recovery of this City, the people of the Realmes of Castile and of Leon, did grant and accord to giue vnto the King *Alphonfus* the *Iusticier* as long as the siege should endure, the tribute which is called *Alcâ vala*: which is a shilling vpon the pound of all the Merchandize which should be sold. The which tribute *Alphonfus* most vniustly and ambitiously against the

Algizira 7.

will of those peoples, did exact as long as he liued. In so much as the kings his successors haue not onely euer since continued it, but they haue also augmented it, and they make them pay at this day one vpon ten.

Gibraltar. 8. Gibraltar, washeld by the Moores for 748 yeares, and was recouered in the yeare 1462.

Malega. 9. Malega was vnder them 773 yeares, and was reconquered in the yeare 1487.

Granada. 10. Granada was regained in the yeare 1492, and was the last citie and realme taken from the Mores, who had enjoyed it the space of 778.

This being knowne, it is no maruell, as I haue written in this Treatise, that the Castilians are descended of the Mores and Iewes, (for these two peoples liue mingled pell mell together) and that the pronounciation of their language is after the Morish fashion: seeing that the Mores haue inhabited in that countrie so many hundred of yeares, and doe yet at this present possesse and occupie a great part of Castile.

Cities: the
meaning
thereof.

Cities in Spaine, are those peoples wherein Bishops Sees are established. These bee also some cities which by particular priuiledge (albeit they bee not Metropolitanes nor heads of Bishopricks) doe vse this title and prerogative: howbeit there bee very few of them. Betweene a Citie and a Towne, there is a great difference, aswell in authoritie, as in prerogatiues, honours and priuiledges. In Cities there are commonly *Corregidores*, specially in Portugall, who may be resembled to the Pretours and Gouvernours of the auncient Romanes, which gouerned the provinces. One citie hath many townes, peoples, and villages, which are subiects vnto it, aswell in temporall as spirituall matters. In such sort, that the cities are as the heads, and the townes as the members. For this cause when there happeneth any great affaires or common reuolt in Spaine, the townes do alwayes follow the party of that city whereunto they are dependant, And to reduce any people into a citie,

the

the antiquitie of the place is more required then the greatnesse of it. There be many Cities which are but meanelly peopled, and Townes which are full and thicke of people. *Valladolid*, *Medina del Campo*, *Madril*, and *Caceles* in Castile, *Santaren*, *Abrantes*, *Sesuuall*, and *Oliuenea* in Portugall, are very great Townes, and notably well peopled; and yet they surpasse in greatnesse many of the Cities: neuertheless, they are not for all that endowed with all these prerogatiues, neither are they called Cities. *Valladolid* and *Santaren* are so full of people, that when in Spaine we make comparison of the greatnesse of Cities and of Townes, we say; *Ciudad por ciudad*, *Lisbona en Portugal*: *Villa par villa*, *Valladolid en Castilla*: *si quieres otra tal, busca Santaren en Portugal*, that is to say: City for City, Lisbon in Portugall: Towne for Towne: *Valladolid* in Castile: if you will find any other the like, seeke *Santaren* in Portugall. It is not many yeeres since that King *Philip* hath honoured the said Towne of *Valladolid* with the title of a City, and hath made it an Episcopall See: and that was, both because *Valladolid* was wonderfull well peopled (as hath beene said) as also because it is one of the most noble and chiefeest Townes of Castile, full of great and rich buildings, Churches, Monasteries, Colledges, principall Houses, and generall Studies: and also because his Maiesty was borne in that Towne the 22 day of May 1527, on a Tuesday about foure houres after noone.

Valladolid made a City, and Bishops Sea by K. Philip.

King Philip borne in *Valladolid*. The time of his natiuity.

The Townes in Spaine are best peopled, which haue within their limits and territories many Villages, hamlets, and Houses, and haue their iurisdiction limited and subiect to the Cities. True it is, that there be some Townes, which are the heads of Baylie-wikes and gouernements, as in Portugall, the Towne of *Santaren*, of the which wee spake before, and the Towne of *Tomar*, which hath 42 Townes depending of her iurisdiction. These two Townes in Portugall doe precede and haue the preheminence of the place before many Cities, in the publike Assemblies of the

Townes in Spaine which they be.

Estates of that Kingdome. The Towne of Santaren precededeth and goeth before 13 Cities, and is preceded onely of foure, to wit, Lisbon, Coimbre, Eborā, and Puerto; which in Latine is called *Ciuitas Portugallensis*. Santaren in the time of the Romanes was called *Iulium Presidium*, and was a Court Royall, or (as they call it in Fraunce, a Court of Parliament) and was a Colonie of the Romanes. Tomar also at the same time was called Nabantia, and was an ancient City.

Now I suppose that I haue sufficiently performed
my promise, and satisfied your
desire, and so fare
you well.

FINIS.



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